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# The Canadian Historical Review

VOL. XXIV

TORONTO, MARCH, 1943

No. 1

## A WINTER AT HUDSON BAY, 1811-12

MILES MACDONELL must have felt a momentary sinking of the heart on October 5, 1811, as he watched the departure of the Hudson's Bay Company fleet from York Factory. He was governor of Lord Selkirk's projected Red River colony and his report, which the returning fleet carried, would be his last communication with his sponsor until the arrival of the ships in the following summer. On his shoulders alone rested the responsibility for the welfare of the settlers and servants through the long northern winter that lay ahead. Moreover, since it was too late in the season to proceed to Red River, that winter must be spent in comparative inactivity at the Bay. It was indeed a prospect to daunt the most courageous heart.

Macdonell had already had disappointments and delays to serve as a warning that the project of founding a colony in the heart of the western fur lands would not be easily accomplished. It had been Selkirk's aim to secure a steady stream of settlers from the most discontented of the Scottish and Irish peasants, and he had instructed his agents to begin by engaging two hundred men in the Scottish highlands and in Ireland to sail in the spring of 1811. There had been delays in the departure of the ships, and agents of the hostile North West Company had endeavoured with considerable success to discourage the colonists. Many of the Scottish and Irish settlers had then withdrawn, and because of this defection "recourse was only then had at so late a period to engage Orkney men to supply the deficiency."<sup>1</sup> Finally, at the last moment, an additional score or so of settlers, intimidated by port authorities at Stornoway, had left the ships. Thus, scarcely more than half the intended two hundred had actually set sail on July 25.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Public Archives of Canada, Miles Macdonell's Letter Book, 282, Macdonell to Auld, Dec. 25, 1811. This source will hereafter be referred to as M.L.B.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 261 f., Macdonell to Selkirk, July 25, 1811. See also Public Archives of Canada, Journal of John McLeod, Senior, Chief Trader, Hudson's Bay Company, 1811-42, I.

The voyage itself had been a further trial to Macdonell's patience. The fleet consisted of three ships, the *Prince of Wales*, the *Eddystone*, and the *Edward and Ann*. The *Edward and Ann*, the flagship, which set the pace for the others, was old and poorly fitted. Her whole crew consisted of sixteen persons, including the captain, mates, and three small boys. She was thus scarcely the ship to make a record trip to the Bay. Moreover, the Commodore, Captain Hanwell, preferred caution to speed and was not to be hurried by the importunities of the impatient Macdonell. The voyage lasted sixty-one days, the "longest and latest ever known to Hudson Bay," and Macdonell saw his hopes of being able to proceed to Red River before spring gradually fade. He wrote to Selkirk: "Of all the occurrences which have opposed themselves against our undertakings, the late arrival of the vessels is the worst in its consequences."<sup>3</sup>

The weary voyagers were likely to be still more discouraged by their first view of the New World. York Factory had anything but an inviting appearance. The post stood on low-lying land one hundred yards north of the Hayes River and looked like an island stockade rising out of an endless swamp. The marshy ground about it was already firmly set with frost when they arrived.<sup>4</sup> The principal building, a two-storey structure, was covered with lead and, in accord with its surroundings, presented an appearance as dismal as the swamp. It did not improve upon closer inspection. Miles Macdonell complained that it was "badly planned and as badly constructed . . . inconvenient in every respect, and not at all calculated for a cold country."<sup>5</sup> The rooms were poorly designed; the stoves failed to heat; and the small cellar under part of the building did little to prevent dampness, as it was always full of water. Altogether York Factory as a winter home promised few comforts for Lord Selkirk's settlers.

As an alternative, Macdonell suggested to William H. Cook, governor of the Factory, and William Auld, Superintendent of the Northern Department, that the settlers winter in a temporary camp to be constructed not far from the Company's post. These officials had been instructed to give Macdonell every possible assistance, but they were not very enthusiastic either about their fur lands being invaded by settlers or about the personal representative of the chief shareholder in the Company gaining too close an

<sup>3</sup>M.L.B., 266 ff., Macdonell to Selkirk, Oct. 1, 1811.

<sup>4</sup>Public Archives of Canada, Selkirk Papers, 151, McLeod to D. McKenzie, Sept. 27, 1811. This source will hereafter be referred to as S.P.

<sup>5</sup>M.L.B., 316, Macdonell to Selkirk, May 29, 1812.

insight into their lives at the post. Settlement destroys the fur trade. The re-organization of the Company on an efficient basis disturbed the Bay traders, because they were so used to the "jog trot mode" of administration that they found any change, no matter how beneficial, repugnant. But an inspection of their private lives was still less welcome to the traders owing to the fact that they had "almost uniformly taken up with Indian women." "Some," goes on Macdonell, "have a plurality, and even to these their cupidity is not always confined. The present Chief of York Factory has three wives by whom he has a numerous issue. One he has discarded for being old—the other two are younger and live with him at the Factory."<sup>6</sup> It is easy to understand why Auld and Cook welcomed Macdonell's proposal that his party should winter at some distance from the Factory.

In their haste to acquiesce, they did not give Macdonell an opportunity to select a site. Even before the supplies could be removed from the ships, the superintendent designated a spot for the new encampment, twenty-three miles from York Factory. On the north shore of Nelson River, opposite the largest of the Seal Islands, there was a narrow flat facing the river and sheltered in the rear by a sharp bluff that rose to a height of one hundred and thirty feet. This was the place selected by William Auld, and here the settlers, after travelling the twenty-three miles, encamped in tents—leather tents for the men, canvas for the officers—until log huts could be constructed. Thus arose Nelson Encampment, the home of the first Selkirk settlers during their winter at Hudson Bay.

William Hillier, the second-in-command, had been sent in advance to begin building the huts, but when Macdonell arrived a week later he found the work progressing very slowly. In a report to Selkirk he wrote: "The huts were commenced according to a plan Mr. H. and I had previously settled at the Factory. For some days the men wrought promiscuously together and being awkward and inexperienced, the buildings made very slow progress."<sup>7</sup> The tools were bad. Macdonell complained that his axes were poorly tempered and that the first one chipped when used in cutting a poplar sapling. The men were ill-fitted for the work. The Orkney men, in particular, were old and averse to labour. Eight of them, though listed on the Company books as forty years of age, were in reality "of all ages up to 60." Moreover, as they had been engaged

<sup>6</sup>S.P., 376 f., Macdonell to Selkirk, May 29, 1812.

<sup>7</sup>M.L.B., 321 f., Macdonell to Selkirk, May 31, 1812.

originally in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, they objected to doing any work on behalf of the Red River colony.<sup>8</sup>

After another week of confusion and slow progress, it was decided to divide the force. Hillier took charge of the Company men, and Macdonell of the thirty-six Red River settlers. Macdonell's group included half a score of Glasgow clerks and smaller numbers of Highlanders, Irish, and Orcadians. The division improved matters and within two weeks the huts were completed. "By the 26th. Oct. all the men and officers got into the Houses; these were in an irregular line along and fronting the river, built of round logs, the front side high with a shade roof sloping to the rear, and covered over the timber with moss and clay near a foot thick."<sup>9</sup> Some difficulties were encountered in transporting from the Factory the ready-sawed boards for floors and bunks, but the men were installed in their lodgings before the heavy snows and sub-zero temperature of what was to prove an exceptionally severe winter had set in.<sup>10</sup>

Shelter, however, was only one, and perhaps the least, of Macdonell's worries. From the beginning he was harassed by the problem of securing adequate and satisfactory supplies of food. Even before the huts were completed he was forced to ration oatmeal at a pint per man per day; and he feared that, despite this precaution, the supply would be exhausted before it could be replenished from the Factory on the first of January. Salt pork and bacon were plentiful, but fresh meat was difficult to obtain. At first moderate quantities of fresh and salted venison were secured from hunters at the Fishing Ware House, thirty miles up-river. Soon, however, the supply diminished; and by November 2 Macdonell was complaining that Geddes, the second-in-command at York Factory, had given orders that all fresh meat be withheld from the colonists. He wrote:

There is scarcely provisions now on hand for one month's consumption, at the rate of 2 lb. of meat per day to a man—and at the expiration of that time there is not a probability of a communication being practicable between this and the Factory, it being very uncertain at what time we can cross the river on ice. Our situation here will consequently be most helpless. We have made every possible exertion to get game, but hitherto all to no purpose . . .<sup>11</sup>

Deer fences and snares had indeed been erected for several

<sup>8</sup>S.P., 91, Auld to Macdonell, Oct. 16, 1811; M.L.B., 271, Macdonell to Selkirk, Oct. 1, 1811.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, 322, Macdonell to Selkirk, May 31, 1812.

<sup>10</sup>This winter was particularly severe. Macdonell says that "the Thermometer was sometimes at 50° below O." See S.P., 347, Macdonell to Selkirk, May 31, 1812.

<sup>11</sup>M.L.B., 279, Macdonell to Cook, Nov. 2, 1811.

miles in either direction along both banks of the Nelson, but the deer had not come. Hunting parties scouring the woods south of the river and along the northern Sanis Creek had brought in only two hundred partridges.

The lack of fresh meat brought scurvy, the first case being reported on Christmas day. Still Macdonell was optimistic. "The scurvy," he admitted, "has at last made its appearance among us, but in the most favourable manner; only one man has taken it as yet, and he is mending."<sup>12</sup> His optimism was not justified by the event. By January 9, five had succumbed and by January 26, nine of his own men and ten of Hillier's were dangerously ill.

Macdonell was now seriously worried. It was not his fault that precautions had not been taken against the dread disease. Having been warned of its dangers by Auld in mid-October while fresh meat was still plentiful, he had on four separate occasions petitioned the superintendent for antiscorbutics—crystallized salts of lemon and the essences of malt and cranberry. None had been received, however, though it is not clear whether this was because of inadequate supplies at the Factory or because of the dilatory business methods of Auld and Cook. After the third appeal Macdonell could wait no longer. The white spruce flourished at Nelson Encampment almost to the exclusion of other trees, and from its leaves he brewed a medicinal tea. This was an approved specific, but it was bitter to the taste. The insubordinate Orkney men refused to drink it and created a disturbance which, Macdonell reported, had "a bad effect on the others."<sup>13</sup>

Macdonell's specific checked the ravages of scurvy, but he was not so successful in finding a remedy for the persistent insubordination of which the refusal of the Orkney men to drink their tea was only a minor example. His men, if we are to accept his own evaluations of them as expressed at various times, were not of the best types to ensure harmonious relations during the ordeal of a northern winter. The Orkney men had "habits of insubordination, idleness and inactivity," and the Irish were serviceable only "to Government in the Army or Navy."<sup>14</sup> Any one of the groups alone would have been hard enough to manage, but the antagonism of group to group made the situation extremely difficult.

The "turbulent and dissatisfied" Glasgow clerks had sown the

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, 287 f., Macdonell to Auld, Dec. 25, 1811.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, 297, Macdonell to Cook, Jan. 26, 1812.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, 312, Macdonell to Auld, May 15, 1812; 287, Macdonell to Auld, Dec. 25, 1811; 324, Macdonell to Selkirk, May 31, 1812.

seeds of discord during the voyage to America.<sup>15</sup> After the arrival at Nelson Encampment building operations had kept the men occupied for a time; but when hunting parties were sent out trouble began to brew. Late in November, a revolt was led by William Finlay, a veteran of three years' service on the Upper Churchill. He had been re-engaged by Macdonell in September on the promise of £25 a year, an exorbitant wage at that time. Now, when attached to a hunting party south of the river, he rebelled against Michael McDonnell, the officer in charge, laid "down *Factory Law* (as he explained it)" and "began to form a party for himself." On December 2, Miles Macdonell crossed the river in a boat "with a crew of new hands and had him brought back to the main body."<sup>16</sup>

No serious trouble occurred, however, until New Year's night. The day had been well celebrated with the aid of a pint of rum issued to each man and it was evening before the party broke up and Irish, Orcadians, and Glasgow men retired to their separate quarters. About eight o'clock, five of Hillier's Orcadians, William Loutitt, James Taylor, John Randall, Magnus Spence, and David Halcrow, were together in their cabin, seated at the table or lounging in their bunks. They had a bottle of liquor and were putting the finishing touches to the day's celebration. Suddenly the door burst open and Hugh Padden rushed in. He was followed by several of the Irish, and their leader, Anthony Macdonnell, began to strike and kick him. "James Taylor interfered advising Macdonnell to be quiet and asked him to sit down." William Loutitt also attempted to pacify the burly Irishman by telling him that Padden was but a boy and scarcely worthy of his attention, but to no avail. Another Irishman, Donald McKay, attempted to find a place at the table but was roughly repulsed by Magnus Spence. Anthony Macdonnell now turned on Spence, seized the handkerchief about his neck and proceeded to strangle him. When James Warwick freed Spence by cutting the handkerchief, Macdonell grasped Spence by the arm and tried to drag him from the cabin. Failing in this he rushed out, only to return in a few moments with more Irishmen armed with axes.

The inmates had by this time secured the door, but their assailants began to chop it down. William Loutitt, who tried to escape, was knocked down, and James Hart beat him with a stick while another Irishman held his head down. John Randall, who had

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, 265, Macdonell to Selkirk, Oct. 1, 1811.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, 287, Macdonell to Auld, Dec. 25, 1811; 323, Macdonell to Selkirk, May 31, 1812.

gone to report the affair to Hillier, was knocked down as he returned. John McLeod alone of the Orkney men was able to keep his feet and hold the door against the Irish.

During a temporary lull in the fighting, Miles Macdonell and Hillier arrived. They surveyed the damage, examined the injured men, promised them safety for the remainder of the night, and urged them to retire quickly.

Before the Orkney men were all in bed, Anthony Macdonnell, James Hart, and Michael Higgins returned to the attack. Macdonnell stunned David Halcrow, who, however, recovered sufficiently to escape while the assailants turned their attention to Randall and Taylor, who had been previously injured. Before Halcrow could bring Hillier, John McLeod arrived. He saw "Anth. McD. striking repeated blows on John Randall and William Loutitt who were both laid down motionless on the floor. Mich. Higgins was striking away blow after blow on James Taylor who was lying in bed." McLeod struggled with Anthony Macdonnell. At this stage Miles Macdonell and Hillier arrived for the second time, and the assailants fled. A guard consisting of McLeod, William Fisher, and Roderick McKenzie was now established for the night "to protect the people of the house from further violence."<sup>17</sup>

There was peace again on January 2—not the peace of confidence and mutual forgiveness, but that, at least, of surrender and grumbling tolerance. Seven of the Irish—Anthony Macdonnell, Michael Higgins, Patrick Corcoran, James Toomey, James Hart, John Green, and Beth Bethune—were brought before Macdonell and Hillier on charges of committing "a most outrageous, violent, and unprovoked assault" on the Orcadians. Three of the latter were so seriously injured that Dr. Edwards, the colony physician, could not pronounce them out of danger for nearly a month. Acting as justices of the peace, Macdonell and Hillier listened to evidence for two days. The witnesses were the wounded men and chance observers such as John McLeod and Roderick McKenzie. Eleven witnesses in all were called and seventeen pages of evidence taken. Yet, strangely enough, the Irishmen were not permitted to answer the charges made against them, and Hugh Padden, the youth whose quarrel with Anthony Macdonnell was the immediate cause of the fracas, was not called. Miles Macdonell seemed

<sup>17</sup>Accounts of the New Year's disturbance are to be found in M.L.B., 323 ff., Macdonell to Selkirk, May 31, 1812; and in S.P., 260-77, testimony delivered on oath at Nelson Encampment, Jan. 2, 3, 1812.



reluctant to probe to the roots of the trouble. Perhaps he feared to bring to light disruptive factors, which, if exposed, would endanger the whole enterprise, but which, if left undisturbed, might remain dormant and die out when settlement was really under way in the spring.

Probably the evidence taken was not intended to be used in an immediate trial, but in later criminal court action in Britain. At any rate, no immediate punishment was meted out to the offenders. Two of them, James Hart and Michael Higgins, were returned to Britain in the fall; but Anthony Macdonnell, the ringleader, was pardoned after being required to pay damages to the sufferers. Miles Macdonell explained this course on the ground that as Anthony could not talk English he had been "drawn into the fray by the two others." A more weighty reason seems to be indicated in a remark in the same letter that he was "strongly connected in Loggan (coy. of Mayo) and will be the means of bringing out many of his relations." Macdonell and Hillier themselves were apparently uncertain as to who and what were the causes of the Irish attack. Macdonell glosses over the brawl with the remark that "Too much liquor was the only incitement."<sup>18</sup> But, though the unusual quantity of rum was obviously an immediate cause, there is evidence of deep-seated discontent and discord. While there were no further outbreaks of a similar nature, Macdonnell's leniency on this occasion had an appearance of weakness that must have lent encouragement to other acts of insubordination that followed.

The first of these occurred early in February and came as a result of William Finlay's persistent refusal to drink the spruce tea remedy for scurvy. Some of the others had followed his example and the disease was spreading. Sixteen of Macdonnell's party and seventeen of Hillier's were already ill and Macdonnell knew that further depletion of his small following would seriously jeopardize the whole Red River enterprise. Prompt action was necessary and he determined to begin on Finlay.

At first the culprit was merely reprimanded for his refusal and "struck off work" for several days. But, when he was ordered to return to work, he declared that he would work no more and persisted in this determination. Thereupon Macdonnell had him arraigned before Hillier who, acting as magistrate, sentenced him to confinement as a refractory servant. No guardroom had been

<sup>18</sup>M.L.B., 324, Macdonell to Selkirk, May 31, 1812; 302, Macdonell to Auld, Feb. 27, 1812.



built at the encampment, and as Macdonell considered that it was no punishment that Finlay "should sleep and sit idle in the same house with the other men," a brush hut was constructed to serve as a jail and the prisoner was placed in it.<sup>19</sup>

On the evening of the same day, February 12, a band of thirteen Glasgow and Orkney men freed Finlay and, triumphantly shouting, burned the hut to the ground. Macdonell acted promptly: "Their huzzaing brought me out, I found them all at the hut, and had their names taken down on the spot." Next morning the thirteen, nine from Glasgow and "four from the Orkneys, young lads that were induced to join them," were brought before Macdonell and Hillier to answer for their offence. They listened quietly to the proceedings for about half an hour and then, shouting defiance, walked out of the court.<sup>20</sup>

Macdonell at once dismissed the rebels from his employ and cut off their pay. He did, however, allow them, and Finlay as well, to occupy his lower house; and each week he signed an order permitting them to obtain provisions at the Factory. In addition, they were allowed to carry firearms with which they kept the camp in a constant state of alarm. Macdonell claimed that they were openly aided and abetted in their mutinous behaviour both at the Factory and in the Encampment, but his own clemency was not well calculated to compel their submission.

The obstinacy of the mutineers continued for more than three months. On his return from Fort Churchill on April 27, Auld tried to persuade them to submit, but to no avail, and attempts to get the Orkney lads away from them were equally unsuccessful. After consultation with Macdonell, Auld on May 13 drew up an ultimatum. The insurgents were "warned of the evil consequences which must follow from their obstinate refusal to return to duty." However, "if they shall instantly return to their duty they will be taken on the books again." On no condition were they to be paid for their period of defiance, and if they continued their mutinous conduct they were to be sent home as prisoners "to be delivered up at the first port in Britain to the Civil Power."<sup>21</sup> This ultimatum was read at noon on May 15, but the malefactors rejected the terms offered.

While the camp had been assembling to hear the notification, Macdonell had secretly despatched three officers to search the

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, 325, Macdonell to Selkirk, May 31, 1812.

<sup>21</sup>S.P., 342, William Auld, "Notification to the Insurgents," May 13, 1812.

mutineers' cabin and to seize their arms. The scheme was foiled when William Brown, a Glasgow ringleader, "would not wait to hear the paper read," but left the house and discovered the searchers. "Upon this," Macdonell writes, "we immediately armed ourselves and went down with some Gentlemen to prevent insult being offered to the three officers." They met the officers returning, having lost their arms and suffered "gross abuse with threats of violence." Macdonell continued to the cabin, had Auld's proclamation read again, and exhorted the rebels to return to their duty. They, however, remained obdurate, and as Macdonell and his party were about to withdraw, John Walker "went so far as to say, the country did not belong to the H. B. Co., but to the French."<sup>22</sup>

Nature, however, soon took a hand in the game and compelled the insurgents to submit. On May 24, ten of them—the leaders, Finlay, Carswell, Fisher, and Brown, remaining behind in camp—crossed the Nelson on their weekly trip to York Factory for supplies. On their return, they found the river ice broken and the path across unsafe. This was Auld's opportunity. When they sought shelter at the Factory, he refused them admission until they should surrender their arms. Separated from their leaders and lacking physical and moral support, "they immediately came to a proper sense of their situation, and submitted."<sup>23</sup> The four leaders, thus left without followers and without food, could easily be dealt with.

Thus ended the most serious disturbance of that tedious winter at the Bay. The spring break-up was at hand and, though more than a month was to elapse before the expedition could set out for Red River, the prospect of activity prevented further disorders.

Macdonell and Auld each prepared reports of the winter's activities to be sent to Lord Selkirk when the annual Hudson's Bay Company fleet should arrive. Their conflicting versions must have been even more bewildering to the Earl than they are to the present-day student who has other information to guide him.

Macdonell complained that the authorities at York Factory had encouraged rebellion in his camp. "Every time a party was sent to the Factory the men were tampered with, and always returned with some discouraging story." The "old hands" corrupted the new. "By the supineness and indecision of the officers in not time-ly putting a stop to the grumbling of a few troublesome men by their

<sup>22</sup>M.L.B., 311, Macdonell and Hillier to Auld, May 15, 1812.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, 333, Macdonell to Selkirk, June 19, 1812.

removal, dissatisfaction has been allowed to pervade the whole body of their people." (Incidentally, this sounds too much like a description of his own conduct with regard to Finlay and other malcontents to be a very convincing charge.) In addition, "Mr Auld and Mr. Cook are both very unpopular with the Indians here, who have likewise caught the spirit of dissatisfaction to a very great degree."<sup>24</sup>

Yet almost at the same moment Macdonell was writing to Auld: "You do yourself unmerited injustice if you harbour a doubt of my being fully assured of your solicitude for the success of the undertaking under my charge. I have experienced every co-operation and advice from you that my most sanguine wishes could desire and that one gentleman could expect from another."<sup>25</sup>

What is the conclusion to be drawn from these contradictory statements from the same pen? It seems probable that Macdonell had some reason to complain of indifferent and reluctant assistance from the local company officials, but that he was rather too willing to use them as scapegoats for his own mistakes while at the same time trying to induce more hearty co-operation by fulsome flattery.

On the other hand, Auld gives a no less revealing report in a communication to Selkirk:

On a perusal of the correspondence you will find I am little inclined to admire Cn. Mc. D management. To me he seems not possessed of those arts of conciliation which his situation so peculiarly requires . . . I can have no personal hostility towards C. McD . . . I have supplied him with every assistance . . . punished those who dared to insult him . . . anticipated his wishes . . . not harshly corrected his errors . . . largely contributed to his comfort, and without saying more than I can prove I have preserved him and his object together.

Further to discredit Macdonell, he accused him of stinting on food, of favouring Catholics to the neglect of Scottish Protestants, of listening to gossip, and of being incapable of managing "hired, tho' he may command military servants."<sup>26</sup>

Auld here went too far, however. Much more than Macdonell's, his report gives the impression that he was seeking to forestall criticism by discrediting the critic. Selkirk could scarcely have needed Macdonell's report to help him estimate Auld at his true worth. His own words convicted him and Selkirk replied coldly: "I cannot express much approbation of the general tone of your letter, in which you seem to loose [*sic*] sight of your being

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, 326, Macdonell to Selkirk, May 31, 1812; 319 f., Macdonell to Selkirk, May 29, 1812.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, 312, Macdonell to Auld, May 15, 1812.

<sup>26</sup>S.P., 499 f., Auld to Selkirk, Sept. 12, 1812.

yourself subject to the fallibility of human nature." In contrast, his word to Macdonell was, "Tho' the transactions of your winter encampment at Seal Islands were not free from unpleasant occurrences yet on the whole it was a relief to me, to hear you had got thro' that awkward situation, with no more serious loss than did occur."<sup>27</sup> Selkirk's judgment was sometimes at fault in selecting officers, but he never deserted a faithful servant and though he may have overestimated Macdonell's abilities, he had made no mistake about the latter's zeal for the Red River project.

That very zeal in its short-sightedness was a major cause of Macdonell's mistakes. The magnitude of the undertaking entrusted to him made the original two hundred settlers seem a small number, and he had seen his band cut almost in half even before leaving Stornoway. Fear that further reductions would cause the project to be abandoned or postponed was thus the dominant factor in determining his course of action. He thus engaged "old hands," such as Finlay, and treated insubordination with extreme leniency. Even at the end of the winter he added a postscript to his report to Selkirk: "It is painful to lose so many effective men at a time they can be so ill spared. I will not yet send them all home if there is a possibility of avoiding it."<sup>28</sup> In his over-anxiety to keep his small force intact, he failed to realize that the early sacrifice of one or two might have had the salutary effect of preventing further losses.

There were, however, other sources of mischief both in the situation and in Macdonell's handling of it. The very organization of Nelson Encampment on a joint military and commercial basis, with the party classified as officers and men and as settlers and servants, was enough to invite disaster. Servants as distinguished from *bona fide* settlers, could scarcely be expected to work as strenuously or to endure hardships as patiently as if they had a personal interest in the success of the venture. Added to this were differences of race, religion, and language in which lay sparks of discord that were likely to flare up under the strain of a long, inactive winter. Finally, it is scarcely unfair to say that the best type of British immigrant did not preponderate in the group. Many of them were men who by birth or training had become social misfits to a marked degree. Macdonell might have done more to counteract the basic faults of his following, but he was not to blame for its personnel and original constitution.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, 689, Selkirk to Auld, June 15, 1813; 682, Selkirk to Macdonell, June 14, 1813.

<sup>28</sup>M.L.B., 332, Macdonell to Selkirk, May 31, 1812.

It is easy to point out his mistakes and their unfortunate consequences, but the historian must be as fair to Macdonell as Selkirk was and give him credit for bringing his band through that unusually severe and long winter with only minor losses. It was not until June 21 that the ice left the Nelson River and, though an advance party had been sent on earlier, it was only then that the main body could break camp. Even after that they were delayed by the wrecking of a boat and did not reach York Factory until June 25. Last-minute preparations occupied a few days more; but on July 4 Macdonell wrote a final letter to Selkirk and two days later embarked with his whole party for the Red River.

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## THE FRENCH VILLAGES OF THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY

**I**N the Illinois country of the eighteenth century there were five French villages, and a sixth, which, while technically not within the bounds of the province, was considered an Illinois village. They were the settlements of Kaskaskia, Fort de Chartres, Prairie du Rocher, St. Philippe, Cahokia, and Ste. Genevieve in Missouri.

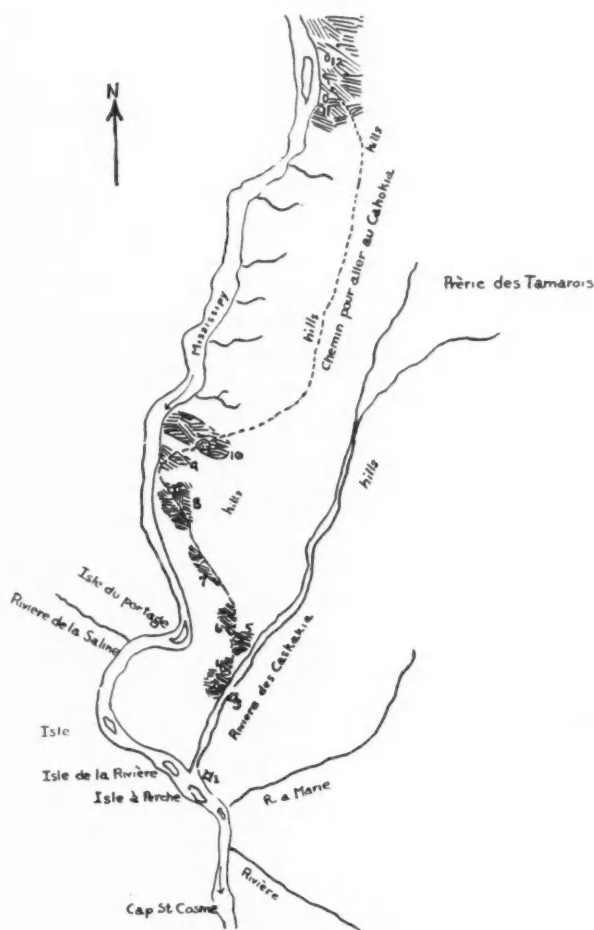
The population of each was made up of French habitants—some natives of the Illinois, some from Canada, some from lower Louisiana, some from France. There were Indians and half-breeds, for in the early years at least, most of the Frenchmen had Indian wives. There were negro slaves and there was a sprinkling of other nationalities—Spanish, German, English, Swiss, Italian, Swedish, and Irish; most of these were in the troops that garrisoned the country; some came as lead miners to Renault's concession. A few came up from the German settlement on the Gulf coast of Louisiana.

Kaskaskia was the principal settlement. The French called it "The Establishment." Jesuit priests, French traders, and a tribe of Illinois Indians who gave their name to the village first founded Kaskaskia in 1703—a date recorded in the parish register of the Mission of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception of the Kaskaskias. There, following the entry in the baptismal register for April 13, 1703, is the statement: "1703, Apr. 25. Ad ripam Metchigamiam dictam venimus."<sup>1</sup> The Metchigamia River referred to the stream later called the Kaskaskia, and so the old French village of Kaskaskia can be said to date from April, 1703.

Originally the Kaskaskias had lived much further north, and had been settled with the Frenchmen's other allies, the Wea, Miami, Shawnee, and Piankashaw near La Salle's fort on the Illinois River. But in the late fall of 1700 they had left with their missionary for new camp grounds on the Des Pères River in Missouri, opposite the Tamoroa or Cahokia mission. Then in the early winter of 1703 they set out once more with the intention of moving twenty-five leagues south, about a day's journey from Juchereau's tannery on the Ohio. For some reason, however, they stopped short of the Ohio, and settled on the bottom-land peninsula that lay between the Kaskaskia and Mississippi Rivers.

The bottom-land was one of the most fertile strips in the whole

<sup>1</sup>St. Louis University Archives, St. Louis, Missouri, *Registre de la Paroisse de l'Immaculée Conception des Cascaskias*.



SKETCH FROM BROUTIN'S MAP OF THE ILLINOIS, 1734

<sup>1</sup>Projected fort.<sup>2</sup>Kaskaskia.<sup>3</sup>Projected fort.<sup>4</sup>Establishment of Sieur Melique.<sup>5</sup>200 Kaskaskia Indians.<sup>6</sup>Habitation of M. Dutisné.<sup>7</sup>Prairie of M. Ste. Thérèse.<sup>8</sup>Village and Fort de Chartres.<sup>9</sup>30 Metchigamia Indians.<sup>10</sup>Village of M. Renault.<sup>11</sup>Cahokia, 7 or 8 French.<sup>12</sup>130 Cahokia Indians.

of the Mississippi valley. The French spoke of it as a "land of Treasures,"<sup>2</sup> and "an earthly Paradise."<sup>3</sup> Grey limestone bluffs, rising a hundred feet or more above the lowland, bordered the east bank of the Kaskaskia, and wound away from the river north of the settlement to form a high ridge stretching as far north as Cahokia, the mission of the Holy Family to the Tamoroa. Between the forest and cliffs was a waving meadow dotted with tree-fringed lakes and ponds and crossed by dozens of slender streams.

In the midst of almost tropical luxuriance, the mission of the Kaskaskia was established on its new site in 1703. A few French traders and their Indian wives settled down with the Jesuits and then for fifteen years little news concerning the Illinois bottom filtered out to find its way into official correspondence. Twice troops had to be sent from lower Louisiana to restore order among the traders whom the priests accused of corrupting their Indian converts. Otherwise the Illinois occupied little of the government's attention.

Slowly the village grew until by the 1730's it had become the *entrepôt* of the rich fur trade of the Mississippi valley. In 1722 there were said to be more than seven hundred persons in the Illinois country.<sup>4</sup> A census by M. Diron d'Artaguiette, inspector-general of the colony, made in June, 1723, gave as the population of Kaskaskia 64 habitants, 41 white labourers, 37 married women, and 54 children.<sup>5</sup> Broutin's map of the region, dated 1734, gives the population of Kaskaskia as two hundred. The detailed census taken at Macarty's order in 1752 gave the following totals for Kaskaskia:

Men.....	58	Female savages.....	44
Women.....	50	Oxen.....	320
Widows.....	8	Cows.....	331
Boys of military age....	36	Bull calves.....	147
Boys over 12 years.....	64	Heifers.....	145
Marriageable girls.....	11	Horses.....	346
Girls over 12 years.....	46	Mares.....	75
Volunteers.....	77	Pigs.....	841
Negroes.....	102	Guns.....	155
Negresses.....	67	Powder.....	61
Negro boys.....	45	Lead and balls.....	1,771
Negro girls.....	32	Arpents of land.....	131
Male savages.....	31	Arpents in value.....	2,232 <sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Illinois Historical Survey, University of Illinois, photostat, *Archives Nationales Colonies*, C13A 14:237v, *Memoir on Louisiana*. The *Archives Nationales Colonies* will henceforth be referred to as A.N.C.

<sup>3</sup>Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane* (3 vols., Paris, 1758), II, 297.

<sup>4</sup>A.N.C. C13A 6:362v. <sup>5</sup>A.N.C. C13A 8:226-226v.

<sup>6</sup>Illinois Historical Survey, University of Illinois, photostat, Huntington Library, Loudoun Papers, 426:2-3.



In 1767 it was reported to General Gage that there were in Kaskaskia 600 men, women, and children and 303 negroes.<sup>7</sup>

At the surrender of the Illinois country to the British, following the Treaty of 1763, the leading inhabitants of Kaskaskia, and indeed, of all the French villages, left their old homes for new ones in Ste. Genevieve, in the infant city of St. Louis, or in New Orleans.

In 1818 the ancient French village of Kaskaskia became the first capital of the state of Illinois, but in the next year the seat of the government was moved north-east to the town of Vandalia. Gradually the population of Kaskaskia diminished until it became only a quiet, lazy, country village, half-slumbering on the river banks. Year after year, floods menaced it, cutting the Kaskaskia channel wider and deeper, inundating the streets and cellars, while above the town the bottle-neck of land separating the Mississippi from the Kaskaskia became narrower and narrower. Foreseeing the future, the few families that remained, if they could afford it, fled to the higher ground on the Illinois side, or took up new homes in Missouri. In 1881 the peninsula became an island as the Mississippi one April night changed its course to roar down the old channel of the Kaskaskia. The town, not entirely destroyed, each spring lost a few more buildings as they toppled into the river. Today all that is left is a small island separated from Missouri by only a partially dried-up meander of the Mississippi. On that island the name of Kaskaskia is kept alive by a squalid settlement of poor farmers and fishermen huddled together on what was once a part of the old French common fields.

While Kaskaskia was the chief settlement of the Illinois country, Cahokia, far to the north, was the oldest. It was the site of the Mission of the Holy Family to the Tamora Indians, established by the Seminarians from Quebec and formally opened with the dedication of a presbytery and chapel in March, 1699.<sup>8</sup> Almost opposite the site of the later town of St. Louis, Cahokia was built on the flood plain of the Mississippi between the limestone cliffs and the great river. Three small streams, the Cahokia River, the *Rivière du Pont*, and the *Rivière du Platin*, furnished water power for mills.

<sup>7</sup>C. W. Alvord and C. E. Carter (eds.), *The New Regime, 1765-7* (Springfield, 1916), 469.

<sup>8</sup>Gilbert J. Garraghan, "New Light on Old Cahokia" (*Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, XI, Oct., 1928, 109).

The French population of Cahokia was never large, for throughout the French period the village was chiefly an Indian mission. In 1735 there were only seven French habitants at Cahokia: Louis Gault, Blondin, Robillard, La Source, Rolet, François Mercier, and Richard.<sup>9</sup> The 1752 census gives 18 men, 13 women, 1 widow, and 42 children.<sup>10</sup> Information to General Gage in 1767, however, reported that there were sixty families still residing there.<sup>11</sup> Pittman stated that there were in Cahokia forty-five dwellings with the church near the centre of the village.<sup>12</sup>

Today Cahokia, no longer existing as a separate town, but part of East St. Louis, is known to most as the location of the great Cahokia Mounds. There is, however, a building known as the Cahokia court-house, which is being reconstructed as a state memorial. The court-house was the home of the Saucier family, built sometime late in the French period, and is one of the very few examples of French-Illinois architecture still to be seen in Illinois.

Fort de Chartres, sixteen miles north of Kaskasia, was the seat of the military government of the Illinois country. The first fort, of wood, square in shape, with two bastions,<sup>13</sup> was built by Pierre Dugué, Sieur de Boisbriant, the commandant, in 1721 on the banks of the Mississippi.

In 1726, however, the Mississippi had cut so far inland that the spring floods almost entirely destroyed it,<sup>14</sup> and the next year, the Company of the Indies, not wanting to stand the expense of rebuilding the fort, ordered that post reduced to six men.<sup>15</sup> Perier and LaChaise in Louisiana, however, refused to accept the Company's decision,<sup>16</sup> and the fort was evidently rebuilt by the habitants a mile farther east on the prairie.<sup>17</sup> Encroachment of the Mississippi, by 1732, was once again destroying the fort, which in an inventory made that year was described as "falling into ruin."<sup>18</sup>

<sup>9</sup>From map in Quebec Seminary Archives, reproduced in J. H. Schlarman, *From Quebec to New Orleans* (Belleville, Illinois, 1929), facing page 145.

<sup>10</sup>Loudoun Papers, 426:6-7.

<sup>11</sup>Alvord and Carter, *The New Regime*, 469.

<sup>12</sup>Captain Philip Pittman, *The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi with a geographical description of that river, illustrated by plans and draughts* (an exact reprint of the original edition, London, 1770; edited, with introduction, notes and index by Frank H. Hodder, Cleveland, 1906), 92-3.

<sup>13</sup>Newton Mereness (ed.), *Travels in the American Colonies* (New York, 1916), "Journal of Diron D'Artaguiette," 69.

<sup>14</sup>A.N.C. C13A 11:89-92.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup>A.N.C. C13A 11:48v.

<sup>18</sup>A.N.C. C13B 1:8.

It was repaired, and though its bad condition forced the withdrawal of the garrison to Kaskaskia upon at least one occasion, it remained until the new stone fort was built in 1753-6.

The stone fort, reputed to be the finest of all the forts in the interior of North America, unfortunately suffered the fate of the forts before it. When it was commenced the Mississippi was a good half-mile distant; by 1767 it was but eighty feet, and within a short time it was washing against the walls of the fort.

The English authorities on December 4, 1771, having received reports that there was little chance of preventing the destruction of the fort by the ravages of the Mississippi, ordered it abandoned and the walls pulled down. Major Hamilton carried out the orders, destroying the fort "in such a manner that at present it can not afford the least shelter to an enemy and he has removed the stones which protected the banks and has opened drains to admit the waters so that the floods in the fall will entirely wash away the front of the fort."<sup>19</sup> Most of the west wall and part of the north-west bastion had already fallen into the river.

As the years went by, the rest was overgrown with weeds and vines and left to crumble slowly. However, the site in recent years was taken over by the state of Illinois as a park, a custodian's house built on the foundations of the old commissary, one of the gates restored, the powder magazine—still almost intact—repaired, and a reproduction of the guard house erected.

As early as 1721 when the first fort was built, a settlement began in the prairie just east of the fort and soon became the village of Fort de Chartres, called sometimes the village of the Prairie of Fort de Chartres, and after 1756 Nouvelle Chartres. A commons was granted to the inhabitants and concessions made to the settlers. Among the earliest settlers were *Sieur Hébert, le jeune*, Jacques Catherine, and François Cecire, all of whom received grants of land at Fort de Chartres on May 2, 1724. The only provision of the grants was that the holder must live on and improve his land, else it would return to the Company of the Indies.<sup>20</sup>

Many of the habitants of Fort de Chartres belonged to the companies which garrisoned the post. Some soldiers, after their term of service was completed, acquired land and settled down as

<sup>19</sup>Letter of General Gage to Lord Hillsborough, September 22, 1772, quoted in E. Waller, "Forts of the American Bottom" (Publications of the Illinois Historical Society, XXXV, 207).

<sup>20</sup>County clerk's office, Chester, Illinois, Randolph County, Kaskaskia Manuscripts, Private Papers, II.

farmers or fur traders. The census of 1732 does not give the number of adults living at the village of the Fort but lists 66 legitimate children and 6 illegitimate children as belonging there.<sup>21</sup> In 1752, according to the census, there were 26 men, 24 women, 7 widows, 93 children and youths, and 88 negroes.<sup>22</sup> When the English took over the post in 1765, however, most of the citizens of Fort de Chartres had followed the last French commandant, Neyon de Villiers, back to New Orleans, or joined LaCledé in St. Louis, and the population was reduced to three families.<sup>23</sup>

Five miles above Fort de Chartres on the road to Cahokia was St. Philippe, the concession of Philippe Renault. In addition to his rights in connection with his post as director of the mines for the Company of the Indies, Renault was granted several concessions of land, one of a league and a half on the Meramec River in Missouri, two leagues at the lead mine discovered by La Motte (near the village of that name in Missouri today), one league at Pimiteoui (Peoria) on the Illinois River, and a league

fronting on the Mississippi, at the place called the Great Marsh, adjoining on one side the Illinois Indians settled near Fort de Chartres with a depth of two leagues; this place being the situation which has been granted to him for the raising of provisions, and to enable him to furnish them to all the settlements he shall make upon the mines.<sup>24</sup>

Diron d'Artaguiette, on his tour of inspection, visited St. Philippe in 1723 and reported that Renault's "habitation," located a quarter of a league from the Mississippi, consisted of a fort of posts in the shape of two horseshoes "one turning in, the other out, with two square bastions." In the fort there were four frame houses, the stone house of Renault—the first such to be built in the Illinois country—and a church dedicated to St. Philippe.<sup>25</sup> Renault's plantation was described as being the finest one in the province.

The habitants of St. Philippe were for the most part men who had come from France as workers for Renault's mines and lands.<sup>26</sup> To them Renault granted narrow strips of land in the same manner that the commandant granted land to the habitants of the other

<sup>21</sup>A.N.C. G1:464.

<sup>22</sup>Loudoun Papers, 426:4-5.

<sup>23</sup>Alvord and Carter, *The New Regime*, 469.

<sup>24</sup>*American State Papers, Public Lands* (38 vols., Washington, 1832-61), II, 163-4.

<sup>25</sup>Mereness, *Travels*, "Journal of Diron D'Artaguiette," 70.

<sup>26</sup>Ship lists prove this to be the case. As for example that for the vessel *L'Union*, which left France May 28, 1719, with forty men and women for Renault's concession. Among those names are many which appear later in the Kaskaskia Manuscripts. The list is in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XV, 460-1.

villages, apparently not requiring any rents or fees. When he was forced by debt in 1743 to sell his property and return to France, the rest of his concession seems to have been purchased by Frenchmen of the neighbourhood.

The population of St. Philippe was never large. In 1752 there were 15 men, 12 women, 2 widows, and 35 children and youths,<sup>27</sup> and according to Pittman, the village when he visited it was deserted save for the captain of the militia who remained in a ghost town of sixteen empty houses. The captain, however, had twenty slaves, a good herd of cattle, and a water-mill.<sup>28</sup>

Two miles east of Fort de Chartres and about seventeen from Kaskaskia stood the village of Prairie du Rocher, the only French town in the Illinois country still in existence today. Built at the foot of the limestone cliffs, the date of the founding of the settlement is uncertain. Sometime, perhaps in 1722, Boisbriant granted to his nephew, Jean Ste. Thérèse de L'Angloiserie, one of the French officers stationed at Fort de Chartres, a tract of land lying on the prairies south-east of the Fort on the road to Kaskaskia.<sup>29</sup> Broutin's map of 1734 locates no village here but merely labels it the "prairie du M. Ste. Thérèse."

There were, of course, other settlers in the vicinity, notably the Langlois, who in spite of the similarity of name, probably were not related to Ste. Thérèse as other writers have stated. On August 10, 1737, a deed was filed in New Orleans by Ste. Thérèse transferring "to Augustin L'Anglois my domain of Prairie du Rocher, and I exact nothing from the [other] settlers on the same Prairie; they are all lords and masters."<sup>30</sup>

Augustin Langlois and his two brothers, Étienne and Louis, were the chief citizens, or at any rate, the largest landholders of Prairie du Rocher. Evidently they came from lower Louisiana sometime after 1728 for in that year they are listed as settlers on Bienville's concession.<sup>31</sup> D'Artaguiette on May 8, 1734, granted to Étienne Langlois a tract of land five quarters of a league in the Grand Prairie below Prairie du Rocher, bounded on one side by the land of Jacques Lalande and on the other by the Kaskaskia

<sup>27</sup>Loudoun Papers, 426:5.

<sup>28</sup>Pittman, *Mississippi Settlements*, 91.

<sup>29</sup>*American State Papers, Public Lands*, II, 183. This reference merely says "sometime before 1734." Boisbriant was in Illinois, however, only from 1719 to 1724. Since he made several similar grants to his officers in 1722, it is quite possible that this one was made then too.

<sup>30</sup>*Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, V, 408.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, X, 9, Book of Concessions.

Indians, running from the hills to the Mississippi.<sup>32</sup> A tract of land a league in depth from the hills to the village was granted to the habitants of Prairie du Rocher as a commons on May 7, 1743.<sup>33</sup>

A mortuary chapel dedicated to St. Joseph was built at Prairie du Rocher and twelve houses erected nearby. By the census of 1752 the population of the settlement was given as 10 men, 9 married women, 2 widows, and 18 youths and children.<sup>34</sup> Pittman's and Gage's accounts of the numbers living in Du Rocher at the time of the French surrender differ. Pittman says there were twelve families;<sup>35</sup> Gage reports twenty-five.<sup>36</sup> Whichever is correct, Prairie du Rocher did not suffer so complete an evacuation as the other French settlements of the Illinois. Still living in the town today are a considerable number of descendants of the original French habitants, and through their interest many of the old customs, especially those connected with the celebration of Christmas and New Year's, are being revived.

Concerning the founding of Ste. Genevieve across the river in Missouri there is even less information than for the establishment of Prairie du Rocher. The traditional date is given as 1735, but there seems to be no documentary evidence to support such a statement. When the first Frenchman settled in the neighbourhood no one knows. Why he did is sometimes argued, but the most plausible reason seems to be that it was on the road to the lead mines which were only fifteen leagues distant, and also within one league of the salt springs.

A petition of December 30, 1741, by Louis Turpin, one of the richest habitants of Kaskaskia, concerning the marking of the road to the salt springs, speaks of "lead miners and others" living on the west side of the Mississippi in the neighbourhood of the Saline.<sup>37</sup> One of the earliest documents mentioning a settlement west of the river is dated December 29, 1750, and deals with the public sale of the property of one Gaboury, deceased, located at Ste. Genevieve.<sup>38</sup> Macarty's 1752 census lists 9 men living in

<sup>32</sup>*American State Papers, Public Lands*, II, map opposite page 182.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, II, 131.

<sup>34</sup>Loudoun Papers, 426:6.

<sup>35</sup>Pittman, *Mississippi Settlements*, 87.

<sup>36</sup>Alvord and Carter, *The New Regime*, 469.

<sup>37</sup>Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, I. Since the matter of the road to the Saline had been the subject of petitions at least as early as May 11, 1737 (Kaskaskia MSS., Public Records, I), it is quite possible that there was a settlement in the neighbourhood of Ste. Genevieve at that time.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, Public Papers, III, Dec. 29, 1750.

the village, 7 children, 4 married women, and 2 *volunteers*.<sup>39</sup> However, in a letter dated September 2 of that same year, Macarty writes that there are at present 27 habitants at Ste. Genevieve and their holdings amount to 93 arpents frontage.<sup>40</sup> In 1767 it had grown to be a village of seventy families, most of the newcomers being from the older towns on the east banks of the river.<sup>41</sup>

The old French village of Ste. Genevieve was located in the bottom-land directly across the river from Kaskaskia. Floods brought increasing danger to the settlement each year, and the habitants gradually moved to the higher land along Gabouri Creek, three miles to the north-west where the village now stands, one of the few towns where examples of the ancient and peculiar French-Illinois style of architecture may yet be found.

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<sup>39</sup>Loudoun Papers, 426:7.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, 376.

<sup>41</sup>Pittman, *Mississippi Settlements*, 96.



## THE CIVIL LIST OF LOWER CANADA

IN the history of events leading up to the Canadian Rebellion of 1837 one of the most important was the decision of the French Assembly in Lower Canada in the years 1817-19 to drop its violent attack on individuals, in particular on the loyalist chief justice, Jonathan Sewell, and to devote itself instead wholeheartedly to the effort to control the provincial finances. The dreary process of bringing impeachment proceedings against members of the Canadian judiciary, who were accused (not unjustly in all probability) of trying to nullify the provisions of the Quebec Act which had re-established French civil law, had led to no important results, and, as a matter of fact, was not founded on any firm constitutional precedents.<sup>1</sup> Colonial assemblies had never in the previous century made good their occasional claims to "impeach" the officials appointed by the Crown, and, if they had had the right, it would have benefited them little, since under English precedents the only body competent to try such impeachments was the colonial council, appointments to which were, in all except the New England colonies, in the hands of the Crown. Actually, when the colonial assemblies, or any other organized group of colonists, brought charges against the Crown officials, those charges were considered by a special committee of the Privy Council in England, which is spoken of in the Privy Council Register as "the committee for hearing complaints from the plantations," and in nine cases out of ten the charges were dismissed. The English ministers and lawyers who made up the committee had scant patience with grievances which usually had their origins in colonial feuds, and it was extraordinarily difficult for the colonists to command the legal talent in London to present their cases favourably.

But in attempting to extend its powers by asserting its control over finance the Assembly was, of course, following the best English constitutional tradition, and could point to the precedents established not only by the British House of Commons, but also by the Assemblies in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the West Indies. To a much greater extent than has been generally recognized, the claims of the French leaders had the support of English legal opinion in this aspect of their struggle with the colonial

<sup>1</sup>The problem of the judicial powers of the colonial assemblies is treated in an unpublished thesis, entitled *Parliamentary Privilege in the American Colonies*, by Mary P. Clark, which may be seen in the Yale Library. The claim by the assemblies of the right to impeach officials plays a greater part in Canadian history than in that of any other colony, and was raised again later both in Upper and Lower Canada.



Governor and Legislative Council, and it was only their opponents' great facilities for obstruction, combined with the lack of patience and of good temper on the part of the French leaders, which prevented their winning an outstanding victory in the twenties. As it was, they had the unique triumph in 1828 of gaining the support of a House of Commons committee for the most extreme of their claims in the control of revenue, and they also had the satisfaction of knowing that the actions of the Governor, Lord Dalhousie, in his dealings with them had been condemned in no uncertain terms. It was at this point that the Assembly leaders, by increasing the scope of their demands, missed their opportunity to consolidate their position. By making the most of the points already gained, they might have moved on gradually to a position in the province as dominant as that of the Assembly in Jamaica before the slavery issue undermined its authority. But, by asking for too much, they aroused fresh opposition, just at the moment when the tension between the French and the English parties in the province had increased to that condition which Durham described as "two nations warring in the bosom of a single state."

Between 1815 and 1828 the leaders of the French Assembly in Quebec were a good deal clearer in their thinking as to their constitutional rights than the corresponding group in Upper Canada.<sup>2</sup> They realized that the Canadian assemblies, although created by Act of Parliament, had in their first twenty-five years exercised much less influence in the government of their provinces than was the case with assemblies elsewhere. They studied the precedents in Nova Scotia and the West Indies, and saw that in those colonies the councils had scarcely more than a nominal voice in finance or legislation, and that in most branches of colonial business it was the assemblies which took the initiative and controlled the expenditure. They saw, too, that under the Act of 1791, the leaders in the assemblies might play a more important part in the provincial administration than was possible under the older constitutions. For the Act had one provision (and only one that was of practical importance) different from the existing constitutions of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. It created a Legislative Council altogether separate from the Governor's advisory and executive council. The purpose in so doing had been to elevate the Legis-

<sup>2</sup>I base my comparison on the material presented by Aileen Dunham in her study of *Political Unrest in Upper Canada, 1815-36* (London, 1927). The issues raised prior to 1828, when William Baldwin first asked for the removal of ministers who had lost the confidence of the Assembly, would not appear to be very important constitutionally. See pp. 160 ff.

lative Council to a position similar to that of the House of Lords, with permanent membership and, eventually, hereditary succession. But there was also the intention that the Executive Council should have a character not unlike that of the English Cabinet, with a membership chosen to strengthen the Governor politically in the province. To most ministers in England it seemed reasonable enough that the leaders in the Assembly friendly to the administration should be included in such a body, but the governors in Upper and Lower Canada had been too intent on bolstering their authority by surrounding themselves with an official clique, to pay any such flattering attention to the Assembly leaders. As a French memorial, presented to Lord Bathurst in 1815, expressed it, only the devoted adherents of the "English" party in the province were ever appointed to office or to the Governor's Council. "*Et comme les Canadiens de la majorité librement élus par le peuple ne se trouvaient pas avoir le dévouement nécessaire, ils n'ont pu avoir part aux places.*"<sup>3</sup> Perhaps it would be exaggerating to say that in pressing the claims of members of the Assembly to a place in the administration, these Frenchmen, whose memorials were apparently never even translated into English for the benefit of colonial officials in London, were putting forward the first claim in any colony to what was later to be called "responsible government," but at least it can be said that in this period they saw the possibility of fulfilling all their political aspirations without any change in their constitution.

Opposition to the Act of 1791 came not from the French, but from the English and Scottish residents in Montreal and Quebec, whose position had been rendered hopeless, from the point of view of representation in any elected body, by the fact of their separation from their compatriots in the Upper Province. After 1820 they converted Robert Wilmot Horton, the Colonial Under-Secretary, and a number of other Englishmen, to a plan for the reunion of the provinces and an equality of representation for the French and English districts. The French, in alarm lest they lose "the safeguard of all their rights," as Papineau called the Act of

<sup>3</sup>This memorial was taken to England by the emissary of Sir George Prevost and was in support of a governor who had lost the support of the British community in Canada by his wooing of the French leaders. It presents an interesting picture of the political state of the province, from the French point of view, during the War of 1812. (See Public Archives of Canada, Series Q, vol. 135, part I.) The Assembly was later opposed to the appointment of its members to office, fearing they would be won over to the official or "English" party. What the Assembly wanted, of course, was to control appointments to office, not to be itself controlled by the Governor by means of such appointments.

1791, poured out their fervent devotion to the existing constitution, and insisted again and again that they only desired to enjoy it in accordance with the original intention of His Majesty and Parliament. Papineau in 1823 called it "la constitution sage, qu'un gouvernement qui en la formant avec délibération se montra aussi éclairé que juste, leur a donné."<sup>4</sup>

Had Papineau and his followers adhered to this position for a few more years, and broadened the base of their party politics by showing a real spirit of co-operation with the English colonists who shared their views, they might have won a peaceful constitutional victory. But when they began to ask for changes in the government which would require another Act of Parliament, they weakened their position enormously. It was entirely within the bounds of political possibilities that the Legislative Council could be rendered as impotent as it was in the West Indian colonies, and the Governor compelled to make appointments to the Executive Council satisfactory to the Assembly; but to demand that Parliament amend the Act of 1791, so as to place the choice of the Legislative Councillors in the hands of the French electorate, was hopeless as political strategy. It was in championing the rights of the Assembly and of the voters that Papineau had his strongest case, and in his best moments he was aware of the fact. In his address to his constituents in 1827, at the height of the struggle over the so-called "civil list," he asserted that Lower Canada had been singled out, amongst all the British colonies, as the one in which the representative body should be rendered impotent, and the executive placed above and beyond all popular control. Since Lower Canada was the colony most in danger of losing its liberties, the resistance of Lower Canada at this moment might mean the salvation or the ruin of the other colonies as well: "we must save them all; if the most important falls, it carries in its wreck the loss of the less important ones."<sup>5</sup> No doubt Papineau was exaggerating the extent to which the Assembly was under attack, for, in truth, that body was trying to enlarge its powers beyond anything it had ever possessed in the past, but he and his followers were asking for little more than Pitt and Grenville had been willing to concede them, and no more than most Whigs and radicals in the British Parliament at the moment would have liked them to have. If

<sup>4</sup>Public Record Office, London, C.O. 42, vol. 196, enclosure in despatch of January 11, 1823. The letter from Papineau is to Cochran, the civil secretary of the province.

<sup>5</sup>This printed address of Papineau to his constituents of the West Ward of Montreal was forwarded in translation, and with some passages marked, by Lord Dalhousie to Lord Bathurst, in his despatch of December 10, 1827 (see C.O. 42, vol. 212).

Papineau had adhered to that position after 1830, he might have gone down to history as one of the makers of the imperial constitution, and not as the leader of an unsuccessful rebellion. For the principles on which the Assembly took its stand in 1818-19, were not only in the English constitutional tradition, but were completely in line with the reforms most needed in colonial administration at the time, which were to be granted after 1840.

In order to understand how good a case the Assembly had for the first ten years of the struggle, it is necessary to know something of the finances of the province in 1818, and a little of the past history of the so-called "civil list."<sup>6</sup> This part of the story is almost incredibly complicated, because there were actually so few people either in England or in Quebec who had complete information on the subject, and the colonial despatches are frequently based on faulty premises with regard to the facts. On the whole, the governors were usually better informed than anyone else, but, as we shall see, they had their own reasons for concealing a part of what they knew from the legislature. The Treasury Board and the Colonial Office were very forgetful as to the details of the colonial budget, but they were intent on the concealment of one of the facts with which they were unhappily only too familiar, namely that there was an annual deficit which was met by the British taxpayers. On this subject they had no desire to furnish information to Parliament. The element of *secrecy* in the Canadian financial problem makes it unlike that of any other colony, and is in part responsible for the difficulty found by the Assembly in presenting its case in London.

It was almost immediately after the conquest of Canada that the Treasury Board in London began to weave the tangled web which was to confuse the constitutional issue later. Having acted for a few years on the assumption that the French duties could be collected by the British Crown, and that they ought to be enough to cover the cost of civil government, and having bestowed a number of Canadian offices, with generous salaries, on gentlemen in London, their lordships were suddenly confronted with the fact that the French duties were not being collected, and that they had themselves authorized the reduction of some of the most profitable of the customs duties which would have fallen too

<sup>6</sup>The term "civil list" was frequently used as synonymous with the term "civil establishment" to include all the expenses of the civil government of a colony. It became especially popular after 1818 with the British officials, because the action of Parliament in 1760 granting the English civil list for the lifetime of George III, served as a useful example to be held up to colonial assemblies.

heavily on British manufactures. Beginning in 1766 there were Treasury warrants, drawing first on one small colonial fund and then on another, to cover the deficit which made the regular payment of salaries impossible.<sup>7</sup> In the next few years there were frequent suggestions in the correspondence between the Treasury and the Secretary of State that application would have to be made to Parliament for an annual appropriation, as was done for the colonies of Nova Scotia and East Florida, but in 1774 the passage of the Quebec Revenue Act was no doubt expected to solve the problem and make a parliamentary grant unnecessary.

Actually the deficit continued and the device which had been adopted in 1770 when all other funds failed became established as the regular procedure for the next fifty years. In the course of the eighteenth century it had been found necessary to allow in the parliamentary estimates for miscellaneous expenses incurred for garrisons and military undertakings overseas, and a lump sum was voted annually for "army extraordinaries," which in most years was overdrawn and which was never very carefully accounted for by the various military commanders in America. The governor of Quebec, being a military man, naturally adopted the same procedure to meet his salary list as to meet his military expenses; his bills drawn in the colony were accepted by the Treasury Board, and the amounts were entered in the Paymaster General's accounts under the head of "army extraordinaries."<sup>8</sup> As a matter of fact a good many other incidental expenses of the colonial civil establishments, especially in the West Indian colonies, were charged up to the British taxpayer in the same way but most of them were uncovered by that enthusiastic fault-finder where colonial affairs were concerned, Joseph Hume, and after 1815 they are clearly listed in the parliamentary accounts. It is interesting that the sums drawn for the civil establishment of Lower Canada, which were much larger than any of the other colonial items, were concealed the longest. Only in 1826 did the House of Commons pass a resolution calling for an abstract of the money which had been spent on the civil government of the Canadas since 1815.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup>A typical warrant dated May 19, 1768, directed the payment from the exchequer to Thomas Mills, Receiver-General of Quebec, the following sums: £2,225 from the proceeds of the Molasses Act (6 Geo. II), £2,174 from the 4½ per cent duties collected in Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, £600 received from Guadaloupe when that island was in British hands. (See American Entry Books of the Treasury 28, vol. I, Public Record Office, London.)

<sup>8</sup>Public Record Office, London, Accounts of Paymaster General 14, vol. 73. As a general rule these accounts were not printed in the eighteenth century. See H. T. Manning, *British Colonial Government after the American Revolution, 1782-1820* (New Haven, 1933), 190-3, 200-3.

<sup>9</sup>*Journals of the House of Commons*, vols. 81, 117.

It was certainly always the hope of the ministers that the arrangement just described could be a temporary one. In 1791 Pitt and Grenville looked forward to an immediate improvement in the local revenues, which would gradually reduce the deficit and relieve them of the necessity of providing for the largest and the most expensive of Britain's colonies by this hole and corner method. Lord Dorchester had the most explicit instructions to lay a full statement of the estimated budget before the Assembly as soon as he met with it for the first time, in order that the colonists' representatives might appreciate how much they were in debt to the mother country, and might prepare to assume full responsibility for the civil expenses of the province.

At this point the Governor and officials in the colony (as contrasted with the officials responsible for the colonies in London) began to manifest a reluctance to reveal the whole truth about the salary list and other civil expenses to the colonists themselves. There were certain branches of expenditure for which Lord Dorchester was quite unwilling to appeal to the Assembly for its support. A few items having nothing to do with Canada—such as a pension for the widow of a deceased governor of Nova Scotia—had been placed against the Canadian account for the very reason that it was not published annually. A number of salaries were being paid to well-connected Englishmen residing in London whose only connection with Canada was by way of the salary list. Then there was a large number of pensions and honorary offices which were really sinecures, held for the most part by aristocratic but needy French Canadians as a reward for their support of the British government. Finally there were the salaries of the Anglican Bishop of Quebec and of a half-dozen Anglican and Presbyterian clergymen, and (most important of all from the point of view of British policy) an annual payment to the Roman Catholic prelate. The latter is slightly referred to in the accounts as "the superintendent of the Romish church" but neither the ministers in London nor the officials in the province ever failed to recognize the importance of winning his support and co-operation.

Lord Dorchester, after some inner debate and a good deal of correspondence with London, finally divided his estimates into three sections. The clerical salaries and a few of the salaries and pensions, whose presence in the Canadian estimates were a glaring anachronism, he omitted altogether from his statement to the Assembly. Another list of pensions and honorary offices he in-



cluded in his estimates, but explained that, since the services rendered by those who held them had been for the benefit of the Empire rather than for the province, the Assembly would not be asked to assume any responsibility for them. In the third list he included what he regarded as the expenditure necessary to the good government of the colony.<sup>10</sup> It can scarcely be said that this treatment of the Canadian estimates met with any enthusiastic approval in London, although the Secretary of State reluctantly consented to accept Dorchester's opinion in the matter. But, since there continued to be a real deficit in the Canadian revenues until after 1800, the question as to which items should or should not be referred to the Assembly had, before that date, only a theoretical interest. The Assembly at this time did all that either the Secretary of State or the Governor considered fitting in view of the limited resources of the province. One set of duties provided for the judicial salaries, another for the expenses of the legislature. After making these appropriations the Assembly was allowed to turn to the subject of internal improvements in the province, the need for which was very pressing. Meantime, the Governor or the Receiver-General of the province obtained through army channels two payments semi-annually to meet the deficit. When the accounts of the extraordinary expenses of the army do begin to appear in the back of the House of Commons *Journal*, these drafts are entered under the names of obscure members of the commissary department stationed in Canada, and their purpose is not stated.

Until 1810 the Assembly of Lower Canada was in matters of finance the most docile of all colonial bodies. New duties were voted on imports into the province, and the proceeds assigned to certain general purposes, without any detailed appropriation being attempted. The Assembly did not even institute, as was the practice in the other colonies, its own system of revenue collection, and the British customs officers, who were already collecting duties under the Quebec Revenue Act, proceeded to collect the new duties, and to remunerate themselves generously out of the proceeds. Meantime, the revenues were increasing, and the Governors looked forward with apprehension to the day when they might have to be dependent on the Assembly for their salaries and for the other expenses of the provincial budget. For the elected body was more and more identified with the mass of the French population, and

<sup>10</sup>C.O. 42, vol. 100, Dorchester to Dundas, June 7, 1794; C.O. 42, vol. 101, Dorchester to Portland, March 28, 1795; *Lower Canada, Journals of the Legislative Assembly, 1795-6 passim*.

the British Governors could find no point of contact with the peasants and small shopkeepers who controlled the elections. Moreover, it was beginning to manifest the aggressive nationalism which, in the light of world events, appeared to the British part of the community not only inconvenient, but treasonable.

The political crisis of 1806-10, in which the issue was first drawn between the British Governor and the French Assembly, and in which the activities of both parties were almost unbelievably arbitrary and wrong-headed, seems to have had the immediate effect of arousing the Assembly leaders to take stock of the situation, and to observe the good things which were enjoyed by other assemblies, and which they were missing. It was a moment when the Nova Scotia Assembly was spending money lavishly, and was framing its appropriation bills so as to benefit its own members as much as possible. To be sure, neither in Nova Scotia nor in New Brunswick was there any offer to provide the money for the larger official salaries, which were still voted annually by Parliament, but enough minor offices and "jobs," as they were called in the eighteenth century, had been created to accommodate the people's representatives. Actually, the Assembly of Lower Canada was more ready to vote new revenues than any other colonial body, because the duties voted were paid, for the most part, by the British commercial class, rather than by the "habitants" who were accustomed to live on what was almost a subsistence economy. In the session of 1810, therefore, the Assembly of Lower Canada came forward with a formal offer to provide money for the whole civil establishment of the province, if Sir James Craig would furnish the estimates. The moment had arrived, hoped for in the not so remote past by William Pitt and William Grenville, when the colonists were ready to relieve the mother country of an increasing burden. But Sir James Craig saw in it merely a grave menace to his authority over his province. He informed the Assembly in no uncertain terms that it was exceeding its constitutional function in offering to the Crown money for which it had not been asked, and we see the absurd spectacle of a popular body, created for the express purpose of voting supplies, being informed categorically that supplies were none of its business.<sup>11</sup>

Lord Liverpool and Lord Bathurst between 1810 and 1815 were quite as fearful as Sir James Craig could desire, at any manifesta-

<sup>11</sup>For an account of the communications between Craig and the Assembly on the subject of the Assembly's offer, see Robert Christie, *History of the Late Province of Lower Canada* (vols. I-V, Quebec, 1848-54; vol. VI, Montreal, 1855), I, 298-303.



tion of political enterprise on the part of the French colonists, and the Governors were authorized to continue to draw on the British Treasury as long as it should be necessary. But, by 1818, the nervousness about colonial rebellions had almost disappeared, and economy in public expenditure was the watchword in London, so that Sir John Sherbrooke's suggestion that the Assembly might be persuaded to take care of civil expenses met with enthusiastic approval. The immediate developments leading up to this proposal helped to convince the Colonial Office that the moment for the appeal had arrived. In the course of the war with the United States it had proved difficult for the commissaries in America to get enough cash from England to pay the expenses of the army, and impossible for them to provide the Governor with the money needed for salaries. At the same time the proceeds of the revenue acts passed by the Assembly, for the specific purpose of financing the colonial courts and the internal improvements of the province, had so greatly increased that a surplus had accumulated in the provincial treasury. Therefore, it became customary for the Governor to borrow from the province annually approximately £20,000 for the payment of the expenses of the civil government, and to inform the Assembly of the transaction, with the further assurance that the money would be paid back by the mother country in due course. In March, 1817, Sherbrooke informed the Colonial Secretary that £140,000 was due from the mother country to Lower Canada, and raised the question:

Whether the large debt which I have above stated to have accumulated shall be repaid from the extraordinaries of the army, or whether it would be advisable to call on the legislature to cover it by a general appropriation:—and, with respect to the future, whether the annual deficiency, created by the excess of the annual permanent expenditure over the permanent revenue appropriated to its discharge, shall, in each year, be made up from the extraordinaries of the army, or whether it will be advisable to submit to the legislature at the commencement of each session (as the practice is in Nova Scotia and the other colonies) an estimate of the sums that will be required for the civil list, and to call on them to make provision accordingly.<sup>12</sup>

Faced with the necessity for inserting an unaccustomed item of £140,000 in the accounts of the army extraordinaries, which might easily arouse the parliamentary critics of the Colonial Office to embarrassing questions, Lord Bathurst did not hesitate. In a confidential letter to Sherbrooke in August, he may be said to have brushed the debt of £140,000 out of the way with a wave of his hand. If the Assembly had offered no objection to the Governor taking the money, why not assume that it had tacitly consented to

<sup>12</sup>C.O. 42, vol. 173, Sherbrooke to Bathurst, March 11, 1817.

its appropriation to the needs of the province? As to the future procedure:

I consider it certainly more advisable that the Legislature should be annually called upon to vote all the sums required for the ordinary annual expenditure of the province. No rational ground can be assigned why the salaries of the pensioners for provincial services and of the clergy should not be paid by those who benefit from their labors, and there is every reason against charging them on the extraordinaries of the army of this country, as has heretofore been the practice; nor, indeed, with respect to other charges usually defrayed out of the extraordinaries, do I see any reason, except in very special instances, for adhering to a practice which, as it had its origin in the inadequacy of the colonial revenues to meet the annual expense, ought not to survive the state of things in which it originated.<sup>13</sup>

Two things should be specially noted in this correspondence. In the first place, there is no mention of the need for permanent appropriation by the Assembly to cover the whole salary list. There was, in fact, no precedent at the time for such appropriation among the North American colonies, except for a tiny revenue which had been voted to the Crown in 1783 by the Assembly of Prince Edward Island—an act which it later bitterly regretted. In the second place, the Colonial Office, as usual, failed to realize the delicate nature of the question raised by the grants to the clergy in the French province. Lord Bathurst, bland as ever in imposing on the colonists what he would have regarded as beneficial to his own tenantry, overlooked the fact that, to the Roman Catholic French Canadians, the presence in the province of an Anglican bishop, with his staff of supporting ecclesiastical dignitaries, must appear an emblem of their subjection to an alien government.

Fortunately for the continued good relations between himself and the French Assembly, Sir John Sherbrooke, like Lord Dorchester before him, recognized that not only the list of salaries paid heretofore to the Anglican and Presbyterian clergy, but also the thousand pounds paid annually to the Roman Catholic bishop of Quebec, should not be made known to the colonists. When, on January 7, 1818, Sherbrooke presented his estimates, and called upon the Assembly to vote the sums needed for "the ordinary annual expenditure of the Province," the list contained the full account of salaries and pensions, even of those which Dorchester and his successors had thought better not to mention, but the clerical salaries were all omitted.

The committee appointed to consider the material which Sherbrooke presented was headed by J. T. Taschereau and made

<sup>13</sup>C.O. 43, vol. 24, Bathurst to Sherbrooke, August 31, 1817. These despatches are printed in full in Christie, *History of Lower Canada*, II, 294-8.

up, for the most part, of Frenchmen. The introduction to their report is, perhaps, worth quoting, for it shows that they fully realized the solemn nature of their task, and were disposed to set about their work with the purpose of framing precedents for the future. They speak of applying to it "every degree of care which is compatible with the expedition necessary," and remark that the session will not be long enough for them to examine every item. "Your Committee think it will be indispensable to resume the consideration of this matter at another Session; they have, therefore, confined themselves, in a first report, to observations in a greater or less degree general upon various heads of the Estimate, or upon certain Items, which have appeared to call for more particular attention." The report then proceeded to comment on the salary list, and, firing its first gun, called attention to the fact that the Lieutenant-Governor of the province, the Secretary of the province, and the Auditor of Patents were all receiving their salaries in England, in spite of the fact that their presence in the province was absolutely necessary for the performance of their duties. Two other salaries, paid to gentlemen with high-sounding titles, the Lieutenant-Governor of Gaspé and the Surveyor of the Woods, the committee recommended should be carried on as pensions, since it could not be discovered that any duties went with the offices. Then the committee came to its most bitter grievance—one to which the Assembly was to recur very frequently in the next few years—the discovery that it was being asked to pay a salary of £200 annually to a gentleman in London, whose name was not even familiar, but who bore the title of "Agent for the Province of Lower Canada."

As to the salary charged for an agent for the Province, although the Province has desired the appointment of one; and, although this House has adopted such measures as depended on it, for attaining that object by legal means, and in the same manner as the other British Provinces, its proceedings have proved fruitless. Your committee know not how this agent has been appointed, nor what his Services or functions are; they cannot perceive how they are regulated, or what may be their limits or extent, and do not know on what principle this Salary is charged to the account of the Province whose officer he is not.

Since the appointment of the agent was a matter on which the Assembly felt so bitterly that it was still a bone of contention after 1830, it is as well at this point to answer the question which had been raised as to the origin of the office. The importance of these colonial agents, who looked after the interests of the colonists in London, has been fully treated elsewhere for the periods before and after the American Revolution. Perhaps the best statement of the status of the agent in the nineteenth century is the one given by

James Stephen in his evidence before the Committee of 1828. "The agent is appointed by an act of the assembly. He is so appointed by name, and a salary is granted by the act itself. . . . Making all due allowances for the disparity of the two offices, the agent of a colony is accredited in the Colonial Department in the same way in which a foreign minister is accredited in the Foreign Department. . . . Canada is the only colony having a representative legislature in which there is no agent appointed by the Legislature."<sup>14</sup> Stephen had explained earlier in his evidence that the so-called conquered colonies which were without legislatures, had agents appointed by the Governor, but he did not explain to the committee that there had been a successful effort on the part of the Colonial Office to control those appointments, and to see that they went to members of the Colonial Office staff. In 1818 the Colonial Office was treating the Canadian agencies as if they belonged to this second group. In point of fact, the office of agent for Quebec seems to have originated in a set of circumstances somewhat different from that of any other colony, and the first appointment was perhaps due to confusion with quite a different office, that of the Treasury agent. When Parliament began to vote money for the salary list of Nova Scotia in 1752, there was included in the estimate a salary of £200 for an agent whose only duties were, apparently, to see that other salaried officials received their proper compensation. The appointment, repeated for every colony which received help from Parliament, was one of those generous bits of patronage with which departments in London liked to reward their underpaid clerks. In 1764 such an agent was appointed for East Florida, and then, for good measure, the Treasury appointed one for Quebec, with a general instruction to carry on any business which might arise on behalf of the merchants trading with that colony.<sup>15</sup> The appointee in question was Richard Cumberland, already the Treasury agent for Nova Scotia, and he received £200, charged to the army extraordinaries, until he died in 1806. The Colonial Office then laid claim to the appointment, and Sir George Prevost was directed to appoint Adam Gordon, one of the clerks in the Colonial Office.<sup>16</sup> The item, which since 1764 had appeared annually in the estimates approved by the Governor of Canada, was one which Dorchester had not included in the accounts pre-

<sup>14</sup>*House of Commons, Parliamentary Papers*, 1828, VII, 248. For the best discussion of the work of the agents in the eighteenth century see Lillian M. Penson, *The Colonial Agents of the British West Indies* (London, 1924).

<sup>15</sup>Treasury 28, vol. 1, 14.

<sup>16</sup>C.O. 42, vol. 157, Prevost to Bathurst, September 24, 1814.

pared for the legislature, and it received no publicity until it appeared in Sherbrooke's estimates. There seems to be no evidence that before 1818 either Cumberland or Gordon had ever attended to any business connected with the colony.<sup>17</sup> The speaker of the Assembly, when he first saw the item, inquired of Sherbrooke whether the agent could be used to attend to provincial business in London, and the Governor professed complete ignorance of "the circumstances and nature of the appointment."<sup>18</sup>

Other criticisms of the committee at this time were concerned with the expense of an establishment proposed for the audit of the provincial accounts, and with a part of the expenses of the judicial and legal establishment of the province (especially the travelling expenses and incidentals), but there is no evidence of excessive thrift in the report, and the committee even suggested that the salary of the governor's secretary should be increased "in consideration of the importance and multiplicity of his duties." One of the committee's complaints recalls vividly the early criticisms of British administrators by the French colonists, and the efforts of Lord Dorchester at reform. In connection with the salary of £200 for the admiralty judge at Quebec, the committee pointed out that the salary had been granted in lieu of fees, in spite of which fact, the judge was still exacting fees from all suitors in his court.<sup>19</sup>

With all of these criticisms and suggestions Sir John Sherbrooke was in complete sympathy, and he recommended them to the favourable consideration of the Colonial Secretary, and begged that a decision be made with regard to them before the Assembly met again.<sup>20</sup> The moment was an important one in Canadian history, for if the Colonial Office in London had acceded to the

<sup>17</sup>In 1821 Lord Bathurst informed Lord Dalhousie that he had recently found Gordon very useful in "bringing under my consideration a very intricate case affecting materially the colonial interests," and one of Gordon's memoranda is included in *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1810-28*, edited by Arthur G. Doughty and Norah Story (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1935), 29. As a matter of fact, the agents for Cape Colony and Ceylon were kept very busy over financial and trade transactions between the colonies and the mother country. But there is nothing to show that either Cumberland or Gordon did anything to earn his salary before 1818.

<sup>18</sup>C.O. 42, vol. 178, Sherbrooke to Bathurst, April 20, 1818.

<sup>19</sup>One reason for the size of the Canadian salary list, as compared with that of other colonies, was the early determination of Dorchester (then Sir Guy Carleton) to get rid of fees. There are innumerable references to the matter in his correspondence between 1766 and 1795.

<sup>20</sup>The report, which is dated March 24, 1818, was enclosed in Sherbrooke's despatch of April 20 (see C.O. 42, vol. 178). In his despatch of April 6, he had recommended the alterations suggested in the civil list. Almost his only reservation was that he wanted the Lieutenant-Governor of Gaspé to take up his duties, instead of resigning his office, since that part of the province was neglected by the government.

Assembly's perfectly reasonable recommendations, and had encouraged the Governor to meet that body on its own ground, the whole question could probably have been settled in a friendly manner in 1819, and the sources of future friction between Governor and Assembly greatly reduced. There would certainly have been a large saving financially to the mother country, and, considering the small number of salaries and pensions under attack, there would not even have been much difficulty in providing the recipients with other means of livelihood from the patronage under control of the Secretary of State and the Treasury. There is evidence that even Lord Bathurst took this view of the matter, when it was first brought to his attention. The report was carefully perused when it reached London, and is endorsed with two notes in pencilled handwriting, which are almost certainly those of Henry Goulburn, the Under-Secretary, and Lord Bathurst. The Under-Secretary's note is addressed to his chief: "This is a serious question for your consideration, which must receive an answer before the next meeting of the assembly." To which Lord Bathurst replied with the following very interesting sentences: "The production of the Estimates, which was I believe a necessary concession, have produced this difficulty. We must pension off all those who hold places not requiring residence, make as many efficient as we can, giving them to resident members of the Assembly."

At the moment these notes were written, it would seem that the Colonial Secretary was facing the administrative problem in Lower Canada realistically, and was even prepared to sacrifice some plums of patronage in the interest of imperial economy and of continued co-operation from the Canadian legislature. It is hard to say whether the fact that so little of this intention was embodied in the despatches which followed, was due to the Colonial Secretary himself, who certainly preferred to proceed in the direction of any reform at his own leisurely and stately pace, or whether it was due to pressure from members of the Colonial Office staff who were personally interested in the Canadian salary list. Whatever the reason, the tone and spirit of the despatches addressed to the successors of Sherbrooke, the Duke of Richmond and Lord Dalhousie, on the subject of the civil list, are certainly very different from that of Lord Bathurst's pencilled note. To be sure, in his despatch to Richmond he did say that the principles of the Colonial Office were exactly those of the Assembly with regard to absentee office holding, and in 1821 the Lieutenant-Governor was informed that he could not expect the Assembly to



pay him a salary unless he appeared in Quebec, but no such severity was practised in the case of the outstanding offender, the Provincial Secretary. This gentleman, whose name was Thomas Amyot, had never been to Canada at all, but he stood so well with the Colonial Office that he had recently been appointed Registrar of Slaves in London, a post which required his constant presence there. Lord Bathurst was willing to have his Canadian salary called a pension, but was eloquent as to the injustice of depriving Amyot of any remuneration to which he had been accustomed.

The Assembly does not complain of dereliction of the office [as a matter of fact, most of the duties had to be performed by another officer called the civil secretary] or undue expense. Your Lordship and the assembly may be assured, for indeed the law now so provides, that whenever a vacancy shall occur in this office, care will be taken that the Successor will be a resident official, but, considering that it has been now many years held by its present possessor, and that its duties in the Province have been adequately discharged, it does not appear to His Majesty necessary or just to dispossess him without some compensation for the loss of his office.<sup>21</sup>

Nor was there any evidence of penitence on the subject of the colonial agent, or any recognition that the claim of the Colonial Office to make such an appointment, for a colony possessing a legislature, was quite unprecedented outside of Canada. "I see no objection," wrote Lord Bathurst graciously, "to his . . . acting in this country in the same manner in behalf of the Province of Lower Canada as the agent of Upper Canada does on behalf of his constituents. But if the object of the Assembly be to nominate the Person who is to be appointed, I should certainly object to any such nomination as inconsistent with the proper duties and functions of the House, whose control over the Person so appointed ought to rest in the power which they possess over his salary and not in the specific nomination." Since the point at issue was whether Gordon should be paid any salary, this statement of the case is rather curious, but Lord Bathurst probably meant that the Assembly could pay him extra for services undertaken at its request. Richmond was told, for his own information, that, if the Legislative Council joined with the Assembly in making the demand, he might acquiesce, but that it would be altogether better to follow the example of Upper Canada, and to leave the appointment "in the hands of the Crown."<sup>22</sup>

The truth of the matter was that, at this stage of the nego-

<sup>21</sup>C.O. 43, vol. 25, Bathurst to Dalhousie, September 10, 1821. An Act of parliament had been passed in 1814 which forbade absentee office holding but it did not apply to those appointed before that date.

<sup>22</sup>C.O. 43, vol. 25, Bathurst to Richmond, July 31, 1818.

tations, the Colonial Office, instead of dealing with the whole problem in a straightforward and businesslike manner, took refuge in a series of verbose and unintelligible arguments, designed to delay any real sacrifice of patronage, and to make points on which future bargains could be struck. It would have been simple enough to direct the Governor to prepare an effective working budget, from which as many as possible of the items rejected by the Assembly were omitted, but to do so would have meant upsetting the schedule on which the Colonial Office was working in its reform of old abuses. The fact that, in dealing with distant assemblies, an immediate redress of grievances was the only proof the mother country could give of real concern for the welfare of the colonists, was something which Lord Bathurst never learned. Another note, pencilled in 1821 on an address from the Canadian Assembly, reveals his state of mind after three years of bickering. The Assembly had presented a second list, carefully numbered, of items in the estimates to which it took exception, and Lord Bathurst's comment is as follows: "I think that the residence of the Lieutenant Governor [he had not yet gone out] can scarcely be resisted, but might not concession on this, on the 2nd, 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th enable us to save the 3rd and 4th, which stand on quite different ground?"<sup>23</sup> The third and fourth items were the salaries of the Colonial Secretary and the Colonial Agent, and for the sake of sums amounting in all to £700 a year, Lord Bathurst was ready to sacrifice an agreement with the Assembly, which would have saved the mother country thousands of pounds annually, and might even have averted a rebellion.

One real difficulty there was in connection with the establishment of Lower Canada, which should, perhaps, be noted here, since it did recur often, and helped to confuse the issue. Neither Lord Bathurst, nor any one else in England, ever seemed able to understand why the ecclesiastical salaries could not somehow be brought within the provincial budget. In this the position of the British authorities had some justification, for there can be no question that Britain had been extraordinarily generous to the Catholic Church in Canada, and in fairness some provision for the spiritual care of the Protestant colonists ought to have been made by the majority. But since all British officials in the colony were agreed that no such provision would even be discussed by the Assembly, it would certainly have been more sensible to apply at

<sup>23</sup>C.O. 42, vol. 187, enclosure in Dalhousie's despatch of June 10, 1821. Address dated March 12, 1821. The pencilled endorsement is in the margin of the copy in the Public Record Office.



once to Parliament for this branch of expenditure, and considerable hard feeling could have been avoided later. What was actually done was to attempt to charge these salaries to the casual and territorial revenues of the Crown, and the discovery of this fact merely whetted the desire of the Assembly to assert its control over those revenues in the next stage of the struggle.

Meantime, in Quebec a new Assembly committee continued to work over the estimates for the civil establishment, and in 1819 rendered a conclusive report, which defined the position of the Assembly on the question of individual salaries and departments of government, more or less permanently. The list of offices which were regarded as useless or inactive was somewhat enlarged, the practice of plural office holding was criticized, especially in the case of H. W. Ryland, who was ever a symbol of the intransigence of the official set, suggestions were made for possible reductions in the organization of the courts, and the new office of Board of Audit, instituted at some expense by the executive committee, was questioned. Presumably, the Assembly thought it would prefer to set up its own machinery for the audit of accounts. Two quotations from this report will illustrate the general principles on which the committee operated. In reply to Richmond's recommendation of a pension for the absentee Provincial Secretary the report ran: "Your committee cannot but express its entire disapprobation of placing upon the Pension List of the Province a person an entire stranger to this Colony, and whose services, far from benefitting the province, have been more than adequately compensated by it during several years for which, tho' a non-resident, he has enjoyed a lucrative sinecure." The conclusion of the report condemned, in unqualified terms, the payment of salaries and pensions by the province to persons of whose services the Assembly had no knowledge.

From every circumstance connected with the estimate of the current year, your Committee are of opinion that retrenchment ought to take place. The internal improvement of the Province, is, in the opinion of your Committee, the first duty of its Legislature, and that duty will be most efficiently performed in reducing the overgrown bulk of the Civil List of the Province, the progress of which, in every species of public improvement, seems to have been tardy in the direct proportion of the speed with which the expenses have accumulated. . . . That those Functionaries, however, whose time and talents are exclusively devoted to the public service, should be liberally remunerated, is but just and equitable. They are precluded from the exercise of that industry which in the common intercourse of society might secure them a competence; and it behoves the state liberally to provide for its Officers, in order that Offices may be worthy of the acceptance of men of talents, integrity and influence, which otherwise would become the patrimony of an indolent, and inexperienced and a supercilious herd of dependents.<sup>31</sup>

Even before the committee's report had been printed, the con-

<sup>31</sup>Doughty and Story (eds.), *Constitutional Documents, 1819-28*, 21; *Lower Canada, Journals of the Legislative Assembly, 1819*, App. L.

troversy had taken a new turn, and one which involved important constitutional issues. That these were raised was apparently due to the personal views of the new Governor, the Duke of Richmond, who was sent out to relieve Sir John Sherbrooke after the latter suffered a paralytic stroke early in 1818. There is no indication that the authorities in England had in any way disapproved of Sherbrooke's dealings with the Canadian legislature, or looked forward to any change of policy on the part of Richmond. But the new Governor viewed the Assembly and all its works in the same light as had Sir James Craig, and identified himself completely with the official clique which controlled the Legislative Council. There is every reason to think that he inspired the stand taken by the Council in 1819, which brought about a more or less permanent deadlock between the two branches of the legislature. That he did so entirely on his own initiative is shown by the lack of enthusiasm with which a part of the Council's procedure was greeted in England. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that if Richmond had received explicit directions from the Colonial Office to revise his estimates before presenting them to the Assembly, and to recognize the right of the popular body to interest itself in the details of provincial finance (a right which everyone in England was always perfectly ready to concede), he could scarcely have landed his government in such an impasse.

What happened was that the Assembly passed an appropriation bill omitting the items on the salary and pension list to which it had objected, and the Legislative Council, without discussing the merits of the omissions as such, rejected the bill on two grounds, both of them quite untenable from the constitutional point of view. In the first place, the Council insisted that the Assembly had no right to frame an itemized appropriation bill, but must accept or reject the Governor's budget as a whole. In the second place, the Council argued that the so-called civil list must be granted permanently, since that was the practice in the United Kingdom. For this very high-handed action the Council was warmly praised by the Duke of Richmond, who dissolved the legislature, and proceeded to draw up a plan for increasing the permanent revenues to a point which would make it possible to govern the province without calling on the Assembly for anything.

Again unfortunately, the Colonial Office, although quite aware that the position of the Governor and Council was indefensible, failed to take a definite stand on the constitutional issue. The thought of a permanent salary list, which need not be the subject of annual negotiations, had always fascinated the British auth-

orities, and Lord Bathurst was so pleased with the Council for suggesting it that he took issue only in passing with the more questionable part of its procedure, which was, from the point of view of future harmony between the branches of the government in Canada, infinitely the more important.

Whatever opinion may be entertained [he wrote], as to the expediency of the course pursued by the Legislative Council in making the regulation of the Civil List a subject of a standing order of that House, of which I feel very great doubts, I nevertheless think that the principles of having a Civil List permanently established is essential to the conduct of the Government with efficiency and harmony. It will, of course, be for the House of Assembly to regulate the amount granted; if it be only adequate to defray such a portion of the charge as the Revenues absolutely at the service of the crown cannot defray, a great point will be gained, or even if it be less in amount, yet if your lordship considers the civil list to be capable of reduction so as to bring it within the prescribed limits, the arrangement will be most satisfactory.

The despatch goes on to say that Lord Bathurst assumes that the Assembly will question items, and thus destroy the first constitutional claim of the Council. But there is still no indication that Lord Bathurst, by graciously conceding the justice of the Assembly's complaints against those items, would be willing to strike a real bargain.<sup>25</sup>

The procedure of the Assembly after 1819 was on the whole, considering the provocation, orderly and temperate. In 1822 the reasons for refusing a permanent civil list were clearly and well stated. The uncertainty and the fluctuation of the resources of the province were a practical argument against a system of permanent appropriation, but the stronger constitutional argument is presented that such appropriation would rob the Assembly of its rightful control over the provincial finances.

The Expense of the Civil Government of this Province amounts nearly to the whole of the public expense, whereas the portion of the Revenue, applied to what is called the Civil List in Great Britain, bears an extremely small proportion to the general expenses of the government which are voted annually . . . and in this respect in particular this Province, far from placing itself in a situation analagous to that of Great Britain, by applying the public revenue in a permanent manner to the expense of its Civil Government, would be in a situation the absolute converse of that of the Mother Country, and also of that of the other British Colonies, wherein (with a few inconsiderable exceptions) the levying and the application of the Public Revenue are regulated by the same Act renewed every year.

The address goes on to show that the permanent revenues and appropriations already existing (the proceeds of the Quebec Revenue Act and the provincial act providing for the judges and the administration of justice) already amounted to a very considerable annual sum, much greater than the permanent revenue of any other colony. "The permanent appropriation of the sums necessary for defraying the expenses of the Civil Government of this Province would involve an abandonment by the Assembly of

<sup>25</sup>C.O. 43, vol. 25, Bathurst to Dalhousie, September 13, 1821.

one of the most ancient privileges, and of the Right most constantly exercised by the Colonial Assemblies. The Assembly would thereby be deprived of that weight in the Legislature which they ought to have, as also would the people they represent."<sup>26</sup> The address ends with a promise to supply annually the money which is needed.

In 1823 a special committee on accounts investigated the whole question of the past financial administration of expenditure in the province, and reported that large sums of money had been spent from the revenues raised by the Assembly, and permanently appropriated for the administration of justice, without any apparent authority, and for miscellaneous services totally unconnected with the courts. The conclusion was that the colonists' money had been wasted on objects which were of no benefit to them, and that, whereas there ought to be a surplus in the treasury large enough to render further revenues unnecessary for some time, it had actually been squandered by officials appointed from London.<sup>27</sup> Much colour was given to the Assembly's complaints, and their grievance was aggravated, by the bankruptcy in 1823 of the Receiver-General, Henry Caldwell, in whose hands was the surplus of more than one hundred thousand pounds, credited to the colony. The Assembly could point out with perfect justice that Caldwell was an official appointed by the British Treasury, over whom it had no control, and that no effective steps were taken to deal with the situation even when his shaky financial situation was known. It must be admitted that there was every ground for the Assembly to argue that government funds, whether they came out of the pockets of the colonists or of the British taxpayers, had been more mismanaged in Canada than in any of the provinces where the Assemblies were in control.

Meantime, at each meeting of the legislature the Assembly and the Legislative Council were deadlocked over the appropriation bill, and Lord Dalhousie, who, although a much more temperate man than the late Duke, shared that nobleman's distrust of popular bodies, insisted that everything must be done to uphold the Council. On the advice of his Executive Council he would spend money from the provincial treasury and report his action to the Assembly at its next meeting asking for a vote of indemnity. The Assembly would vote indemnity for all expenditures which had been included in the appropriation bill rejected by the Council,

<sup>26</sup>C.O. 42, vol. 191, enclosure in despatch of Dalhousie to Bathurst, June 10, 1822, and *Lower Canada, Journals of the Legislative Assembly, 1821-2*, 118.

<sup>27</sup>C.O. 42, vol. 196, enclosure in Lord Dalhousie's despatch on April 23, 1823. The covering despatch is printed in Doughty and Story (eds.), *Constitutional Documents, 1819-28*, 172.

and the items which had been selected for condemnation by the first two Assembly committees on estimates continued to be those for which there was no legal authority.<sup>28</sup> Perhaps the most absurd incident of the whole controversy occurred when Lord Dalhousie was on leave in England, and Sir Francis Burton (the Lieutenant-Governor who had been pushed out to Canada by the Colonial Office), in his anxiety to receive a larger salary than the one for which, as an absentee, he had been scheduled, succeeded for one year in composing the quarrel between the Council and Assembly, and accepted the appropriation bill with the objectionable items omitted. The Colonial Office, although moved by the outcry of Lord Dalhousie to censure Burton for accepting the bill, finally became convinced, by an opinion of the law officers in England, that there was really nothing wrong with it. In the end, Dalhousie was told, in a private letter from Wilmot Horton, to cease his complaints, since, in the course of his argument proving that the bill encroached on the prerogative, he had advanced propositions "which no Civilian in this Country or in Canada can be found to maintain."<sup>29</sup> The implication that Dalhousie, as a military man, understood nothing about law and constitutional problems, was perhaps justified, but was somewhat belated.

Several conclusions may be drawn from this brief account of the origins of the struggle over the control of provincial finances in Lower Canada. Not only were the actions of the Assembly in dealing with the civil list perfectly reasonable, but there was no inclination in England to deny that they were so. As one of the officials of the Treasury expressed it: "If the Crown were in a situation to carry on the government of Canada without assistance from the Legislature, it might undoubtedly do so, and appoint Officers and spend the revenue in any manner it might think fit. But if the Crown is under the necessity of resorting to the Legislature for aid, the Legislature will always exercise the liberty of questioning the Propriety of the Expenditure."<sup>30</sup> The only points at issue, in which the Colonial Office and Treasury took an interest, were the possible compensation for the office-holders who would be

<sup>28</sup>Doughty and Story (eds.), *Constitutional Documents, 1819-28*, 89, for resolutions bearing on indemnity.

<sup>29</sup>C.O. 42, vol. 212, Wilmot Horton to Dalhousie, May 29, 1827. The point at issue was whether the bill assumed any authority by the Assembly over the proceeds of the Quebec Revenue Act. Dalhousie claimed that the Assembly had intended to get those revenues under its control, but Wilmot Horton wrote "that the principle that an act of parliament is to be judged not from its letter, but from the assumed *animus* of the parties who introduced it or carried it, is one to which no civilian either in England or Canada will be found to assent."

<sup>30</sup>C.O. 323, vol. 197, William Hill to Wilmot Horton, December 17, 1823.

displaced by the Assembly's zeal for economy, and the provision of permanent salaries for the Governor and other important officials in the colony. On the latter subject the British authorities had had a fairly consistent policy, but it had been carried out, for the most part, through grants from Parliament and the use of the few permanent revenues which did exist.<sup>31</sup> There were officials in London who questioned whether permanent provision of this sort was worth anything. James Stephen, for example, believed that Assemblies were always likely to be too prodigal rather than too economical: "I remember no case in the last fifteen years in which any colony exercising absolute dominion over its own revenue, has refused to make ample provision for every effective public servant."<sup>32</sup> And the Treasury Board official quoted above argued that it did no good to have a part of any budget covered by permanent revenues and appropriations, since the Assembly would always use any appropriations it did make for the purpose of bargaining with the Governor, and cited the example of the military expenses in Jamaica, which were a perennial subject of dispute, because the Assembly provided for a part of the pay of the troops stationed there. But the weight of opinion in official London was certainly in favour of a permanent salary list, on the ground that any other arrangement made the Governor subservient to the popular body.

It was one thing, however, to bargain with the Assembly for a permanent salary list, and another for the Governor and Council to declare that any other form of supply bill was unconstitutional. In permitting the officials in the colony to carry on the struggle in these terms the Colonial Secretary was very much to blame, for he was really encouraging them to take advantage of the comparative weakness and inexperience of the French Canadians in their first years of representative government. The explanation for the unfortunate turn which affairs took in 1819, seems to lie very largely in the deep impression made on Lord Bathurst by the despatches from the Duke of Richmond, who was, undoubtedly, one of the most reactionary and irresponsible men ever sent to rule over a British colony, and who, being personally well known to the

<sup>31</sup>This policy went back to the seventeenth century. See A. M. Whitson, *Constitutional Development of Jamaica, passim*, and Manning, *British Colonial Government after the American Revolution*, chap. VII. It had never met with any great success, as far as the control of the assemblies was concerned, but the Colonial Office continued to believe in it until after responsible government was fully established.

<sup>32</sup>C.O. 42, vol. 218, memorandum prepared by James Stephen for Sir George Murray. It should be noted that James Stephen at every point in the controversy upheld the rights of the Assembly and probably influenced the decision of the parliamentary committee in 1828. This is the more remarkable as he was by no means sympathetic to the French Canadians as against the British settlers.



Colonial Secretary, carried more weight than most colonial governors. In the few short months of his administration Richmond succeeded in destroying the whole foundation laid by Sir John Sherbrooke for the harmonious co-operation between the branches of the legislature, and also in convincing the Colonial Office that nothing useful could be achieved by negotiations with the colonists' representatives. Richmond's views were based less on his experience with the French leaders than on his general contempt for democratic institutions; he remarked in a note to Bathurst that parliamentary government was a mistake anywhere except in England, and that in England the electorate should be cut in quarter.<sup>33</sup> Lord Dalhousie was welcomed into office after Richmond's sudden death with the warning that an agreement with the Assembly was scarcely to be hoped for; and his preference, which came naturally to a soldier and the head of a great Scottish family, for governing by decree rather than by political management, was given every encouragement from England.<sup>34</sup>

Meantime, the Assembly was familiarizing itself more and more with the past conduct of the government of the province, and can scarcely be blamed for finding fault with what it uncovered. It is very interesting to compare the strictures of the Assembly at this time with the criticisms and reservations of Lord Dorchester more than a quarter of a century earlier. As a matter of fact, quotations from Lord Dorchester's speeches to the first legislature became one of the chief sources of the Assembly's resolutions, and it was easy enough to show that the first Governor of Lower Canada had been no less impatient with the abuses of the old colonial system than were the French reformers of the twenties. No doubt the British party in the colony was right in insisting that the Assembly would introduce its own set of abuses to replace those which it wished to abolish. Such, in fact, had been the practice of colonial assemblies everywhere. But the real offence of the Assembly of Lower Canada was that it was French, and insisted on remaining so, without any regard for the representation of British settlers in the province. Paradoxically, the chief interest of its proceedings, to the historian of the British Empire, is that, within so brief a period of apprenticeship, it had mastered so much of English constitutional tradition.

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<sup>33</sup>See his personal letter to Bathurst, June 2, 1819, C.O. 42, vol. 185.

<sup>34</sup>See Doughty and Story (eds.), *Constitutional Documents, 1819-28*, 54-5, for Bathurst's private and confidential despatch to Dalhousie when he took over the government.



## REVIEW ARTICLE

### THE ANATOMY OF WAR

MORALISTS have often made their protest against war. Humanists have rarely been willing to accept it as holding an unchallengeable place in the relations of men. Historians have been apt to regard it merely as a recurrent part of their narration, leaving to philosophers the task of denouncing it on grounds of humanity, ethics, or religion; for the historian has placed a severe limitation upon his scope. Being aware of the immensity of his theme, the infinite and elusive variety of the facts from which he must discover some significance and unity of subject, he has tended progressively to narrow his scrutiny to ever diminishing fields of vision. Such a tendency might be taken as evidence of the historian's recognition of the extreme relativity of any calculus of human affairs, more especially when the phenomena which he observes are separated from him not only by the veils enshrouding the motives of men, but by a gulf in time. The data must be always incomplete, sometimes fragmentary, frequently inadequate, as often inexhaustible. The historian remains frustrated as a scientist, hampered as an artist, and reluctant as a philosopher. It is rather through intellectual humility than through arrogance that he leaves to others the hazardous and uncertain tasks of extracting valid conclusions from "the chronicles and brief abstracts" of the past which he has so painfully and incompletely assembled.

Occasionally some Titan will arise whose mental stature is sufficiently exalted for him to view boundless Baconian perspectives of time and place, and like a Toynbee, to take all history for his province. Such excursions are rare. More often the historian is content to stay at home and leave the perils of wide intellectual travel to others more hardy or better equipped than he. It accords with this guarded and stable outlook that in the contemporary climax of human affairs, it is not an historian but an international lawyer who has made the most profound and exhaustive study of war that is likely to appear in this generation. Professor Quincy Wright's two volumes<sup>1</sup> are as solid a justification of a scholar's faith as we have any right to expect when man's recorded history exceeds a working life at least a thousand times.

This impressive achievement is the outcome of a project steadily pursued over a period of sixteen years. It is an attempt to repair the neglect of the historians who have usually preferred to occupy themselves with explaining particular wars, and have hesitated to generalize. That "they have treated war as a genetic process but have left it to the sociologists to typify this process" leaves a considerable gap in our knowledge of the subject. There has been a similar preference among geographers for avoiding generalization, and a comparable majority of factualists, the philosophers or integrators being venture-some and few. Biologists have discouraged analogies between human and animal warfare. On the other hand, some of them have admitted an identity between the respective principles of social organization and have applied their observations to explain the functional or pathological nature of war and its

<sup>1</sup>Quincy Wright, *A Study of War*. (2 vols.) Chicago: The University of Chicago Press [Toronto: W. J. Gage and Co.]. 1942. Pp. xxiv, 678; xviii, 679-1552. (\$16.50 the set)

relation to types and stages of human society. Among the many schools of psychologists there is more positive agreement on a conclusion of fundamental importance to the subject. According to the psychologists, belligerency is not instinctive in the human animal. It is not an inevitable factor in human relations. It is rather a function of social organization and institutions.

In the pure social sciences, anthropology, sociology, philosophy, and ethics, there has been a greater reluctance to synthesize, and a progressive aversion from simple explanations. Even the theologians, concerned, like the philosophers, with weighing imponderables and measuring eternity, have compromised, with Aquinas, between the presumptions of religion and reason against war and its secular justification in politics. Economists have generally neglected the causes of war. Of the exceptions the most notable is Marx, whose economic interpretation has been denied by most of the evidence of economic theory and history. Political scientists, while showing themselves more receptive to the study of war, as pertinent to the relations between states, have yet been unable to agree either on methods or conclusions. Jurists, by drawing up rules for the conduct of war, have furnished war-makers with the pretexts of legality, though they have sought to mitigate war's barbarities, and, through attention to alternative procedures, to lessen its possibilities. Even the synthetic nature of the study of international relations, that newest of the disciplines, has failed to bring its professors to any common agreement unmingled with controversy and undivided nationally. Finding its genesis in the first world war, their subject has come to its malignant climax in the second.

Since the various social disciplines have been tried and found wanting, Professor Wright has devoted himself to the great task of synthesis and formulation, and where others have failed through inadequacy, he has achieved significant success.

Of his two volumes, the first is an historical *tour de force*, a striking performance both in the range and the ingenuity of its scholarship. The treatment discloses every phase and facet of the theme. Warfare is examined in its origins, in its primitive and historic shapes, as an expression of modern civilization, in its intensity, functions, drives, and technique. The investigation is pursued into animal warfare, and to changes in war through history. The work is supported by a full *apparatus criticus*, the footnotes competing in interest with the text, the appendices replete with tables, maps, and diagrams, two hundred and sixty-nine pages of them. The result is not unworthy of the author's purpose. "As the entity about which a history is written approaches universality and eternity," he writes, "the history approaches a philosophy of history. The history of war attempted in this volume covers the struggles of life throughout the world from animals to contemporary world-civilization. It therefore approaches a philosophy of history" (I, 448-9).

The major premise with which Professor Wright takes his departure on his long and laborious journey is that war is a phenomenon increasingly damaging and even destructive to civilization as man's social organization becomes more complicated. The minor premise would appear to be drawn from the findings both of sociology and psychology: that war is a social rather than an individual manifestation, the product of group-relationships. The emphasis is laid on a more detailed social psychology which discounts facile abstractions about the inherent belligerency of human nature. There is a further assumption of pro-

gress in history, a liberal interpretation favouring, rather than disapproving of, a general trend in modern civilization away from privilege, authority, absolutism, and dogmatism towards humanism, liberalism, pragmatism, and relativism. Local and temporary set-backs are admitted and the fact stressed that such retrogressions take place most disastrously after great wars. The inevitability of war as a theory of international relations is discarded as tending to produce the conditions of its own demonstration. The explicit product of Professor Wright's thinking, in terms of policy, is a powerful *exposé* of the folly and futility of isolationism.

The factual structure of his argument provides his readers with a display of erudition of almost endless interest. To social scientists these extensive vistas will offer attractive possibilities for further investigation in their own fields. They will reserve their particular attention for those parts of the work where Professor Wright in his majestic progress crosses the plots of their special cultivation. Yet if they are to be fairly critical in this regard, they should condemn not the harvest as a whole (unless they disagree with the premises) but the products which they themselves have contributed to it and for which Professor Wright must be acquitted of responsibility.

In the case of historians, some of them may wonder, perhaps, whether the conclusions with which they have supplied Professor Wright are of the soundest workmanship. One of the difficulties here issues from the labels which, for purposes of definition, historians are apt to bestow upon their periods. In his study of causation, Professor Wright has, perforce, to draw upon these historians' categories. He refers to the so-called "Wars of Religion" during the turbulent era from 1520 to 1648, when wars "while not unrelated to political or even economic interests, were ostensibly fought for religion" (I, 198). The examples cited are the French Huguenot Wars, the Dutch Wars of Independence, the Thirty Years' War, and the English Civil War. "Ostensibly religious motives" are also held to explain Elizabeth's wars in Ireland, Scotland, and Spain, Maximilian's "Holy League" against France and Charles V's wars in Mexico, Peru, France, and Turkey. The historian may wonder, perhaps, whether the proviso of ostensibility is really strong enough. Provincial opposition, for instance, against the centralizing policy of the Imperial Spanish Government, and against taxation and commercial restrictions, had a part hardly less important than ideological differences between the Dutch and their Spanish masters. Similarly, a chief ingredient in Elizabeth's war with Spain was economic rivalry, while her wars in Ireland and Scotland were fought for purposes of national security. Admittedly the great thinkers of the period, Luther, Calvin, Hooker, Barclay, and the rest, spoke of their times in the idiom of religion, just as in the twentieth century our social thought is largely an ideological compound of politics and economics. Yet if we penetrate below the surface of historical generalization and the ideological rationale, we come upon materials of war which are likely to give us a more complete compendium of causes even though they defy more elliptical causal definition.

The truth of the matter would seem to be that religion in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was still too inclusive a conception of human life to allow of politics, economics, and the rest to be severed from it. Religion was all-embracing. It provided the sanctions of the State and was its justification in the consciences of men. It is misleading to put these things apart, although

undoubtedly there were signs during the period that politics would become more and more secular, though not less all-embracing, as has come to be the case in our time. The religious antipathies of the past are best understood by relating them to the secular fanaticisms of the twentieth century. No one would say that these fanaticisms are not fully informed by politics and economics.

To say, then, that in the period of political absolutism from 1648 to 1789, the importance of religion as a cause of war had come to an end is surely less accurate an expression of the change than if one were to say that the philosophical centre of gravity had shifted. The new religion was a more secular one, but political principle or reasons of state had none the less the impelling force of religious conviction.

To conclude also that the economic motive becomes prominent only after 1789 seems too narrow an interpretation. Colbertism was not without its causal influence on Louis XIV's attack upon Holland. The Anglo-French Wars might fairly be called trade wars. On the other hand, the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars sprang rather from political antagonism than economic competition, the declaration of Leopold II against the French being a proclamation of dynastic panic, and rallying the French people to meet the challenge in defence of the principles of their revolution. In the nineteenth century, "popular thinking," it is stated, "conceived of war, if justified at all, as an instrument of economic progress." The term "popular" is an uneasy one. Would mere economics explain the frustration of French national sentiment under Louis Philippe when popular thirst for "La Gloire" was an important factor in the downfall of the régime? And were the three great wars in which Bismarck forged the unity of the Germanies more economic than political in the concept of the statesman and the ultimate approval of the German people? Popular support for the Crimean War in England had more in it of chauvinism than of accountancy. Nor is it clear that popular support of the Boer War was much inspired by the ledger-books of imperialism. The speculators of the Rand and the pro-Boers in England were more occupied with the economics of the case than were the people of England. The call to arms in 1914 was effective on the argument of a broken treaty. As Sir Edward Grey knew well enough, a plain appeal to national interest would have been insufficient to carry the country.

Such adjustments of focus are matters which concern the work of historians rather than that of Professor Wright. It is precisely in those cases where historians have committed themselves to generalization in these matters that they have tended to mislead those that come after them.

Professor Wright adequately safeguards his own position. The upshot of the matter is, as he points out, that wars are the result of the changing relations of numerous variables. In modern civilization it is the artificial product of varieties of nationalism, each one of which is sustained by a particular emphasis in education involving its own peculiar system of language, law, symbols, and ideals. "The explanation and interpretation of these systems are often as remote from the actual sequence of events as are the primitive explanations of war in terms of the requirements of magic, ritual, or revenge. War in the modern period does not grow out of a situation but out of a highly artificial interpretation of a situation" (II, 1291). Hence the difficulties with which the student of war must cope. The greater, therefore, must be our admiration for so dogged a pursuit of so protean a quarry.

There is an element of hope, however, in this complexity. If the causes for which men fight are ultimately mythical, then may not revisions be made in the mythology and alternatives be found to the debate by slaughter? "Since war is more about words than about things, other manipulations of words and symbols might better serve to meet the cultural and personality problems for which it offers an increasingly inadequate and expensive solution" (II, 1291).

We have now strayed deep into the second volume. Herein the author is concerned with the analysis of war and the methods for its scientific study. He tackles the huge problem of governments and the struggle for power, examines the functions of states and the divergences of law, addresses himself to the related subject of nations and the rivalry of cultures, considers the peoples and their competition for livelihood, measures the factors influencing the incidence of war and finally comes to grips with that part of his theme for which the rest of his work is a comprehensive preparation—the control of war.

It would be impossible to exhaust this rich mine in a brief essay. It may do the work the least injustice if we consider some of those aspects of international controversy which have been held most generally to demonstrate the insoluble nature of the dilemma inherent in the choice between peace and war.

First we may take the position of the democracies in the dangerous world of the twentieth century. The autocratic states have threatened them in principle and practice by a positive willingness and preparedness to make war the instrument of policy. The sluggish reaction of the democracies to this deadly intent has been a powerful encouragement to the authoritarians to break the bounds of moral and legal restraint and to strike down their victims one by one without fear of deterrent collective force being used against them. Until war gave them a belated unity of purpose and action the position of the democracies has been anomalous as well as dangerous; for it is they whose need for international organization is greatest and whose willingness to enter into effective co-operation has been insufficient for the purpose. The indictment applies more especially to the Great Powers. It is less easy to sustain, however, against the smaller democracies like Switzerland, the Netherlands, and the Scandinavian countries, although as may be conceded, even "their enthusiasm for collective security has lasted only so long as they were consumers rather than producers of collective security."<sup>2</sup>

Thus the democratic dilemma remains and is posed by Professor Wright in these terms: "Constitutional states with geographically and functionally federalized governments under democratic leadership are likely to be most peaceful." Such governments, however, while tending to develop within a stable balance of power, have yet "succeeded neither in organizing the world for peace nor in maintaining the equilibrium of power. Peaceful governments have created conditions favourable to the rise of warlike governments" (II, 848).

This divorce between the democratic dedication to social progress and any realistic appraisal of the international implications thereof has been the most glaring impairment of the relations between the liberal states and the rest of the world. Liberalism is not a universal creed. The trends of modern civilization toward the interdependence of nations have been arrested by forces denying

<sup>2</sup>II, 846, n. 89 (citing W. E. Rappard, *The Quest for Peace since the World War*, Cambridge, Mass., 1940).

the validity of those liberal principles which to Woodrow Wilson appeared to await merely the passage of time before being implemented and expressed in a new world-order. These liberal inevitabilities have since been treated with cynical disregard. Civilization is distracted by a dichotomy of trend, the new bifurcation threatening to destroy the old. In the nineteenth century it was possible to believe in a plan of progress to be followed by an ever widening society of free nations "maintaining universal standards of social amelioration, individual liberty, rational procedures, and religious tolerance" (I, 217). So much has faded. In the twentieth century this beneficent international pilgrimage has broken up into a free fight. The trouble has been aggravated not only by the absence of the police but by a general unwillingness on the part of that unhappy band to make a stand for law and order. Professor Wright likens the behaviour of states in crisis to that of a flock of chickens scattering for shelter when two of their number resort to beak and claw. Recent history, since the crisis of 1936 when Hitler invaded the Rhineland and the League abandoned sanctions against Italy, is the preface to our present confusion. The world's disunity was the dictators' opportunity. The case for the prosecution drawn up from so formidable a corpus of evidence, must shake the isolationist position to its foundations.

Here speaks this American scholar:

The movement toward isolation and reliance on self-defence alone tends toward a general heightening of economic barriers and a general increase of armament, thus lowering standards of living, augmenting international anxieties, and increasing the world tension level. The prestige of international institutions will be reduced; general confidence in international co-operation, international law, and international justice will decline; and the social and intellectual solidarity of the nations will diminish; and a trend may be set in motion which will gradually reduce the means of international communication and exchange. Such a development might eventuate in a vast diminution of the world's standard of living and population. The consequent unrest may result in a general revolt against political institutions and in the destruction of civilization. The beginnings of such a process could be observed in the 1930's, and its history from beginning to end can be observed in the general flight to isolation of the sections of the Roman Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. followed by the Dark Ages [II, 1330].

No one who has been at all aware of the auguries of disaster so plain and yet so unheeded during the period between the wars but will agree that this is a true diagnosis of catastrophe, and will be glad to have the prescription of collectivity drawn up by so eminent an authority. The question follows as to the shape of the collective scheme which the nations ought to adopt in pursuit of their joint security. Some of them may be able to agree upon objectives, some of them may hold in concert to the principle that government is for the welfare of the governed and not unrelated either to the welfare of the human race as a whole. But no scheme that assumes unanimity of agreement on this fundamental premise will meet the realities of the international situation. There are governments and peoples who have rejected the very idea of liberal progress. Their conception of the national purpose is an exclusive one, narrowed down to the maintenance of a party monopoly of power and projecting that power monopoly into their external relations in the form of racial tyranny. These are irreconcilable opposites. The antithesis between the traditional liberal view and that of the neo-nationalism of race and party cannot be washed away. On the other hand, while they continue to stand arrayed in force against

each other, there can be no escape from violent collision. "The democracies," says Professor Wright, "are challenged to restore general allegiance to the philosophy of human progress and human welfare which the great thinkers—religious, philosophical, and political—of all regions and all ages of civilization have accepted" (II, 1352).

How are the others to be won over? How are they to be taught that the democratic advocates of an international humanitarianism are not merely wealthy purveyors of soporifics for the poor, the disinherited, the ambitious? Internationalism may well be the logical answer to the world's dilemma. But so far as the United Nations are concerned, I think we must recognize clearly that it can only be internationalism on our own terms. Otherwise we shall be in danger of distorting the issue, of confusing our own good intentions with the realities of the situation as a whole. It is as well to perceive that what we feel to be a disinterested concern on our part for the welfare of the world will appear to the disaffected as the hypocritical manifestation of a power-bloc intent on world domination. According to Professor Wright, the alternative we must offer to the New Order proposed for Europe and Asia by our enemies has to be conceived as a synthesis of the various national conceptions of welfare, to be promoted through effective international organization. But just as the State must stimulate the national sentiment for its efficient working, so there must be called into being supra-national loyalties if the organs of international government are to function with effect. Such a reaching out of the national mind may well seem beyond the political capacity of national man, yet Professor Wright insists upon it as the condition of his forward march.

What an intellectual inheritance is here revealed! Here are the conclusions on the subject as Erasmus and the Humanists came to them, as the philosophers of the Enlightenment developed them, as Jeremy Bentham and the Utilitarians and the liberal thinkers of the nineteenth century took them up. The citizen of all their Utopias, the responsible executor of their universal suffrage, the Atlas of their reasonable world—was the rational man. Take him away and democracy is a régime of the mad-house; deny his existence and the annals of civilization end in the incoherence of anarchy. Yet the rational ideal, as Professor Wright admits, "is not attractive to a human race that is only partially rational. The ideal of the economic man or the reasonable man looks pallid beside a fasting Gandhi, a light brigade loyal to the death, or a Faustian hero in titanic struggles against the world. A pallid world 'sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought' is not generally appealing" (II, 1217).

The answer to the necessities of the case must surely be to wed the idealism that nourishes the spirit of man to the reasonableness that begets wisdom. The servant of reason is education, but education is the servant of the national State. "Education has therefore tended to encourage reason less in the international than in other fields" (II, 1218, n. 78). In exploring his relations with the universe man sets no bounds to his intelligence. His science probes infinity; he expounds the laws of physical nature with god-like apprehension. Yet in the discernment of his relations with his fellow-men, his intellectual horizon is limited by the military posts along a national frontier. Descending from the heights of their angelic perception when pitted against the enigma of their being, he and his fellows behave, in Professor Wright's satiric simile, "like a herd of quarreling apes."



In this part of the matter we come to the most decisive possibility of all. If the political boundaries of the mind are to be transcended, then the national limitations put upon education will have to be removed. Urging the case for rationality, Professor Wright insists that "in the present age planetary comprehensiveness of vision and the utmost foresight are essentials of such rationality. These imply guidance by a central investigatory organization with capacity, free from possible impairment by national states, to communicate with individuals throughout the world. So long as control of education and communication is a monopoly of national states, it is not to be expected that attitudes conducive to war can be prevented from developing in certain areas, and the virus once developed in one section of the human population, like a cancer in the human body, will under present conditions spread to other sections and involve the whole in war" (II, 1224).

To those who have had experience of the jealous guardianship held over education by state or province in a federal system, the supersession of a national by an international authority might seem to be not one but two stages along the line of advanced utopianism. The problem of cultural autonomy is much the same in either case. The claim of nationality to be free in order to express the spiritual and cultural values nurtured in nationality is only valid so long as the political implications of that claim do not threaten to destroy the civilization which nationality professes to enrich. "Nationalism, however, is not necessarily linked to the idea of the perfect community. It may mean the opportunity for cultural self-determination of reasonably homogeneous groups, not as absolute sovereigns, but as claimants to legal autonomy in regional and universal organizations. Thus interpreted, all nationalities might develop their talents and supplement one another's contributions to the cause of human progress" (II, 1010).

So we continue to follow Mazzini's footsteps into the future and none is more aware than Professor Wright of the distances that lie before us. He himself counsels against the haste that soon brings on exhaustion. "War," he says, "might be defined as an attempt to effect political change too rapidly" (II, 1306). Hence the dangers of a headlong attempt to control it. If social resistance rises in proportion to the speed of change, then the peace-makers will be wise to slacken the tempo of innovation. The anatomy of war is a study of man in society. Positive peace is still an abstraction in the minds of philosophers. It behoves us not to be impatient.

Are we then fighting for the moon? The answer to our hopes and the reward of our sacrifices lie in our moral stamina. "No society can exist," says Professor Wright, "without both law and power." But "effective organization requires both reason and faith" (II, 835).

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Montreal, Seaport and City.* By STEPHEN LEACOCK. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart]. 1942. Pp. xii, 340. (\$3.50)

*Les Cahiers des Dix.* No. 7. Montreal: Les Dix. 1942. Pp. 333.

*De Ville-Marie à Montréal.* Par JEAN BRUCHÉSI. Montréal: Editions de l'Arbre. 1942. Pp. 154. (\$1.00)

LET nobody be deceived by the title or the author's name of the first book under review. This wide-sweeping and rather disjointed piece of work cannot be considered a real history of Montreal, but perhaps it was not intended to be such in spite of its table of contents. Within its two covers, this good-sized book does not contribute any new historical information on the Canadian metropolis's past. The well-informed student looking for documentary facts and events will be more or less interested, but not satisfied with its presentation. He will have to go back to less entertaining but more informative books.

As a matter of straight fact, the book is not so much a history of Montreal as a kind of general and discursive survey of Canadian history as it affected Montreal, past and present. It goes back as far as possible, to Columbus himself, and comes down the ages, with a flow of geographical, economic, biographical, linguistic, and sociological details, which nicely pad the book and fill in historical gaps. Throughout it all runs an uninterrupted and enjoyable vein alternately critical, sarcastic, humorous, or satirical. The more the volume comes down to the better-known modern times, the less irrelevant the comment is and the more historical it is, which is so much gain. No better and quicker indication of the author's method can be adduced than the heading of a chapter, which reads as follows: "Vaudreuil Surrenders Montreal. The Close of the Seven Years' War. The Capitulation. Military Government in Montreal. General Murray and the King's New Subjects. Civil Government in 1764. Conflicting Elements. The Quarrel between Britain and America. The Quebec Act." The case is evident here of general history being presented round the pivot of Montreal.

Often captivating with its unorthodox appreciation of the past, the book contains a number of minor inaccuracies. Leaving aside the author's vagaries about Hochelaga, the following might be listed as examples: the Ursulines came to Quebec in 1639, not 1642 (p. 38); the snydic was not a "town manager," but only an interpreter of the citizens' demands (p. 64); Talon had nothing to do with the feudal régime of Montreal (p. 64); Frontenac did not plan a representative government in Canada (p. 70); the Quebec Act was not passed to punish the American provinces (p. 114); fire protection regulations existed many years before 1765 (p. 146). The volume has an index and ten illustrations insufficiently listed, but no bibliography.

Dr. Leacock's volume may be given a place on a Canadian historical shelf. It is almost never dull reading. The book sparkles with illuminating comparisons, broad understanding, deep-cutting sentences, satirical remarks, sociological comments, vivid thumb-nail sketches, and profound reflections on our Canadian problems. It is a philosopher's view of Canadian history in the ambit of Montreal's past.

The new volume of *Les Dix Society* consists of ten articles, each concerned with some phase of Montreal's past, as a contribution to the city's tercentenary. It opens with a physical and ethnological chapter by Aristide Beaugrand-Champagne, a stimulating piece of work, which will probably raise some protest concerning its discussion of Hochelaga's site. The Abbé Albert Tessier devotes a chapter to the *Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement*, a religious society, several members of which were also members of the Society of Notre-Dame, which founded Ville-Marie. In a chapter headed *1642*, Victor Morin relates interestingly the foundation of Montreal. Pierre-Georges Roy brings out extensive biographical notices of every French Governor of Montreal from Maisonneuve to Rigaud de Vaudreuil. With M. Gérard Malchelosse, the reader will acquire a better knowledge of the arch-villain François-Marie Perrot, who was Governor of Ville-Marie from 1669 to 1684. Under the title of *1742*, Mgr Olivier Maurault gives us a cross-section picture of Montreal after a century of existence, while F.-J. Audet takes up the story of Montreal in *1842* and Leo-Paul Desrosiers completes the pictures with a description of the metropolis in *1942*. Maréchal Nantel has contributed a chapter on the Montreal bar and barristers.

Each of the ten members has turned out a solid piece of work and this *Cahier* may probably be listed as one of the most useful historical productions brought about by the celebration of Montreal's tercentenary.

Mr. Bruchési, in *De Ville-Marie à Montréal*, has given the reader a rather too brief but interesting bird's eye view of Montreal's history. Within the short compass of his book, he has necessarily limited himself to a running comment on the various phases which marked the Canadian metropolis's evolution. As he mentions, there is nothing original and nothing new in these pages. The reviewer feels that they were written too rapidly. The author has undoubtedly tried to cover too much ground and has never allowed himself a chance of giving the matter its proper treatment. It is the more to be regretted since there are many passages which show personal interpretation of facts, suggestive descriptions of the past, and excellent sketches of social life. There is a short bibliography and the volume contains a number of original sketches of Montreal in 1826-7 by an English painter, John Drake.

GUSTAVE LANCTOT

The Public Archives, Ottawa.

*The Picture Gallery of Canadian History. Vol. I. Discovery to 1763.* By CHARLES W. JEFFERYS. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1942. Pp. xvi, 268. (\$2.00)

THE author of *The Picture Gallery* has practised what he preaches: "The best way to learn this [the geography and the history of the country] is by visiting and observing the actual localities in which historical events occurred" (p. 262). What is best in his valuable book is his own personal acquaintance with the human geography and the backgrounds of his subject.

*The Picture Gallery* is obviously a labour of love, and the best legacy that an historian can leave behind him for others to benefit by and enjoy. It covers its extensive ground with a warmth radiating from a generous heart, and reveals a faculty of observation that leaves few stones unturned. The Ryerson Press

deserves congratulations for its production. Yet a number of errors have slipped between the author's fingers. As the praise of his book has been the object of several reviews elsewhere, I will apply myself more usefully to the consideration of various points inviting discussion and differences of opinion.

The contents consist of a great many of Mr. Jefferys's own pictorial reconstructions in which he makes no claim to infallibility. A distinction is drawn between his imaginative drawings and the illustrations of actual places, persons, objects, and events, whether depicted by artists of the past, or by himself and other illustrators of the present day (p. vi).

The field covered here includes the Indians and their culture, the French discoverers and the Canadian pioneers of the first period, the hunters in the forests, on the prairies, and on the Arctic Coast; their customs, dwellings, means of travelling, manual arts, and varied customs. Among the subjects treated best are the old Quebec architecture and houses, the discoverers and founders of New France, the Jesuits and other early personalities, the ancient maps and reconstructed itineraries and the period of the British conquest.

The old houses of Quebec are shown in their best light. The drawings illustrating them are among the most attractive in the book. They include private houses, colleges, churches and chapels, and old forts. The reproductions of rare prints and pictures are valuable; the search for them in public or private collections required unusual keenness, and we are grateful for them.

The first quarter of the book raises some interesting and important questions. It professes to depict the life of pre-Columbian Canada and yet most of the materials presented are of a recent date and transient character. Unfortunately the author was under the misapprehension that museum specimens and insufficient records of the dim past had raised the curtain upon prehistory, whereas they—with the exception only of archæological materials—belong to the last hundred years or less and give little or no idea of the older native ways. The primitive culture of the Indian, under the impact of a superior civilization, either vanished or was transformed beyond recognition within a generation or two after the coming of the white man. The natives speedily passed out of the stone age. In this they may be compared to Adam, in the Garden of Eden, becoming aware of his own nakedness and hastily putting on a new garb.

In a book depicting the French period down to the 1760's, the author was not justified in assuming that the following cultural features are at all ancient. The feathered headdress with long trailer is the creation of Buffalo Bill and of the Indian Days and "stampedes" put up by the publicity departments of the transcontinental railways (p. 24). They are far more elaborate than those shown for 1830 and 1840 in the drawings of Catlin for the Mandans (p. 37), and of Paul Kane for the Blackfeet (p. 22). The Indians at these dates had already been swayed away from their own simple ways by more than a hundred years' steady influence at the fur-trading posts.

Moccasins and tailored garments with bead and porcupine quill decorations mostly in floral forms were wholly derivative. The Ursuline and other nuns practised embroidery and, in the early colonial days, for nearly a hundred years taught numerous patterns to hundreds of Algonkian, Iroquoian, and Eskimo girls. The traders for generations sold to their native customers a great supply of beads, needles, cloth, ready-made garments, sashes, garters, and even breech-

clouts. No Redskin on this continent could stay aloof from the white man, whose overwhelming influence obliterated the earlier ways of life.

Fringed skirts and costumes with tassels for men and women, the use of the beaded "double-curve motive" (a misnomer), the cloth leggings—a military article which the colonists adapted to their own use and which became universal among the Indians—and the knitted mitts held together by a braided woollen string, all are modern developments due to the white man.

The long Cree snowshoes (p. 28) were only a by-product of the fur trade, the Crees having been the middle-men between the Hudson's Bay Company and the natives of the open northlands as far as the northern Rockies. The only suitable snowshoes for the Woodland Crees were short and rounded ones. The horse *travois* (p. 34)—from the French "*travail*" or shafts for a vehicle on wheels—could only go back to the time when the horse was introduced on the prairies. The flute in the form shown (p. 39) is an imitation of a European instrument and the drum (same page) consists of a skin stretched on a small rum or powder keg cut in half.

The wampum (p. 41) or treaty belts belong to the French period. The wampum such as we know it was manufactured by the crafty Dutch for the Indian trade, and the demand for it was at its height about 1800. It was imported in large quantities from New York by the North West Company, and provided by the Astor Company. The peace "*calumets*" or pipes, made of red stone called catlinite, were mostly imported from Great Britain or made for the Indians by Montreal craftsmen. Such items figure on the accounts of the North West Company as preserved in the Archives of the Séminaire de Québec.

The decorated birch-bark vessels reproduced here (p. 45) are from the National Museum collections. They are not seventy years old. The Quebec nuns made finer birch-bark articles of the same type long before the Indians. The so-called Indian designs as represented (p. 58) were not created by the Indians; they are French, and derivative. And the Eskimo probably did not come independently by the thimble (p. 113).

The birch-bark canoe as shown here (p. 30) is not wholly the creation of the Algonkian Indians; the native canoes, of which we know almost nothing, were quite small and carried only two or three people and little baggage. Those familiar to us are the improved and enlarged canoes which the French Canadians of Lachine, L'Assomption, and Three Rivers for many years made for the canoe brigades travelling with heavy loads to the far North-West. They were the work of experts, whose names were recorded on the books of the great Company. Their improvements influenced the later and smaller canoes made in imitation by the Indians themselves. Probably no elm-bark canoe as large as the one shown here (p. 33) was ever built and used by the Iroquois, who also had the much better dug-out.

The Algonkins were not pottery makers, as implied (p. 44). The iron kettle (p. 21) is a modern trade article; in the French period it was of brass. The Kwakiutl totem poles shown here (p. 54) were not carved with stone adzes, but with improved steel tools, after 1890. The Indian dances on the prairies (p. 37), as depicted by Catlin in the 1830's, were under the influence of the fur trade and the equipment provided at the posts of the Hudson's Bay Company. The masked dance of the Indians on the North Pacific Coast as derived from Paul Kane (p. 38) dates back only a hundred years; the Chilkat blankets worn

by the dancers were then a novelty due to Russian Alaska. The medicine-men (p. 40) never wore feather bonnets nor smoked the peace calumet.

The Eskimo costumes of the beaded Cree-like style (p. 71), are quite modern. And the Eskimo territory did not stop at the Bering Strait (p. 112); it still extends to the eastern Siberian Coast. The kayak skin boat of the Eskimo (p. 68) may also have two man-holes, and the bull boat of the prairie natives was an emergency contrivance, like the elm canoe of the Iroquois; it was also used by the Huron-Iroquois.

More than four root languages (p. 55) were spoken by the Canadian natives; and the Hurons or Iroquois, after the discovery by Jacques Cartier, cannot be said positively to have pushed back the Algonkins from the lower St. Lawrence and the Hochelaga area. Dead-fall traps like the one represented (p. 7) may not have been practical; those we know are different. The method of flaking flint (p. 10) is not accurately represented, and there were no flint quarries as shown (p. 10) in prehistoric Canada—flint does not exist here. Maple syrup and sugar, in spite of the author's query (p. 12), undoubtedly was made in prehistoric times by the natives in the whole basin of the St. Lawrence including the Great Lakes.

Corrections of the same kind would greatly improve Mr. Jefferys's French period. For instance, no priest actually accompanied Jacques Cartier on his voyages to Canada; yet one is shown on p. 76. And the tabernacle seen in the Tadoussac chapel (p. 88) actually is not a hundred years old.

The white whales spoken of (pp. 121-2) are different from the small sea mammals captured since prehistoric times by the Indians at Ile-aux-Coudres. These are not white whales as stated, but porpoise. And the small whales still seen and hunted near Tadoussac are called grampus.

The French-Canadian wall construction, in the well-studied French-Canadian houses and in the churches and old wooden houses and barns of Quebec, consisted of heavy timbers, such as shown in the recent reconstruction of Champlain's *Habitation* at Port Royal. Yet most people, until recent years, have quite overlooked the early French processes of wood construction in North America, and some Americans in this research have stolen a march on most Canadian students. Mr. Peterson, of the National Park Service of Washington, has described these techniques in connection with the old French buildings of the upper Mississippi and in Louisiana.<sup>1</sup> And Harold M. Shurtleff, in his *Log Cabin Myth* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939) has exposed the fallacy of the log-cabin type of construction before 1790 everywhere in North America except among the Scandinavian settlers of the Delaware River. Mr. Jefferys's own error on the same question is expressed on pages 82, 116-17, 182-3, and 219. It calls for revision.

The log-cabin type of construction such as shown in "The Founding of Halifax, 1749," was impossible at the time. The process indicated was not introduced in Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritimes until after 1800, presumably 1830. It remains marginal in the whole of Quebec; it was practised after 1830 mostly in the areas of colonization, in the outlying districts. The notched corners, or dovetailing—or "têtes de chiens" as they are described in Quebec parlance—were quite unknown along the St. Lawrence; they are American.

<sup>1</sup>Charles E. Peterson, "Early Ste. Genevieve and Its Architecture" (*Missouri Historical Review*, XXXV, Jan., 1941, 215-32).

*Pièce sur pièce* with "demi-bois" at the angles, known since the beginning in this country, is a different thing. The tourist lodges and summer camps built in recent years in the Rockies and elsewhere, under the assumption that they reproduce old French or British structures in Canada, are wholly misleading.

The corrections introduced at the last moment in the earlier plans by the National Parks Bureau for the reconstruction of the *Habitation* at Port Royal, Nova Scotia, were timely (pp. 116, 117). As first conceived, these plans involved the log-cabin construction. And they would have been executed had not the obvious mistake come to our attention and been rectified, but not until the writer had given warning, with the corroboration of Dr. Gustave Lanctôt and Mr. John Richardson of the Dominion Archives. For a fuller appraisal of the French-Canadian varieties and technique of wall construction, see my *Maitres artisans de chez nous* (Montreal, 1942, pp. 45-57).

MARIUS BARBEAU

The National Museum, Ottawa.

*Studies in the Evolution of Dominion Status: The Governor-Generalship of Canada and the Development of Canadian Nationalism.* By GWEN NEUENDORFF. With a foreword by HAROLD J. LASKI. London: George Allen & Unwin [Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons]. 1942. Pp. xii, 379. (\$5.75)

A BOOK on Canadian government written by a South African under the supervision of an Englishman who has lived in both Canada and the United States should get away to an unusually good start. Certain merits are almost inescapable: a freshness of outlook, a greater detachment and freedom from bias, and a readiness to find instructive points of similarity or difference with institutions in other countries—these should add much to any discussion. In this book they have played a useful part, while the concomitant disadvantages normally associated with the general unfamiliarity with the environment are neither very conspicuous nor very frequent. Unhappily, however, these beneficent influences are not sufficient in themselves to produce a really good study, and the absence of some of the more common virtues has spoilt what might have been an unusually fine achievement.

The book, as the sub-title indicates, includes two essays: the major one on the Governor-Generalship, comprising over two-thirds of the volume; and the other, the remainder. The latter part, which deals with the relation of Canadian nationalism to imperial federation, imperial preference, and imperial defence, is an uninspired essay which is but sketchily attached to the rest of the book and, except for the easy opportunity of simultaneous publication, would probably not have passed beyond the manuscript stage. The real interest and merit of the book lie in the first part.

Dr. Neuendorff in her treatment of the Canadian Governor-General deserves our hearty thanks for making the first attempt to deal with what is perhaps the most difficult subject in Canadian government. She has done a prodigious amount of work; and her ample material, the scope of her research, the variety of her sources, all indicate her diligence and courage. Whoever comes after her cannot fail to profit enormously by her efforts. But here, unfortunately, the meed of praise is exhausted. The labour has been vast, but incomplete; the preliminaries are impressive, but the final stages are disappointing: the



argument begins under favourable auspices, but as it progresses it becomes bewildered and lost in the midst of its own verbiage.

The most comprehensive fault is the confused nature of the exposition. The chapter headings are oddly chosen, and the resulting division of the subject matter, the inevitable repetition, and the mixed chronology leave the reader completely at a loss. One pair of chapters endeavours to distinguish between the relations of the Governor-General with the Colonial Office and his relations with the imperial Cabinet, while another pair draws a tenuous line between the Governor and the colonial Cabinet on the political and on the non-political side. Five chapters have an internal chronology of their own, and a sixth (on the effect of the last war on the Governor-Generalship) singles out one period of time and discusses some points which have been left in mid-air in the preceding chapters. The lack of logical arrangement and the unskilful handling of material is also found within the chapters themselves. The discussion, for example, of the complaints made against the Colonial Office that despatches were not given sufficient consideration and were tardily answered involves a rambling account of communications between British and Canadian governments, the kinds of despatches used, Colonial Office minutes, derogatory remarks by Governors on Dominion Ministers, suggestions made by Imperial Conferences on correspondence, General Smuts's proposals regarding the position of the Governor in 1919, and finally, a blessed deferment of the topic to a later chapter.

Other faults, no less serious, are the inaccuracy of many of the statements of fact and the superficiality of many of the judgments. These are so numerous in regard to well-known events, that one is forced to wonder how many others, if investigated, would be found equally wanting. Within six pages, for example, appear mis-statements or important omissions of fact on the following: Borden's dismissal of Sir Sam Hughes; the choice of Mr. Meighen as Sir Robert's successor; the results of the 1925 election; the necessity for re-election of a newly appointed Minister; and Mr. Meighen's defence of Lord Byng. Within the same six pages are other statements which are certainly dubious, and various expressions of opinion which require much bolstering to be accepted, if, indeed, they are to be accepted at all. The book is also dotted with many remarks which can be described only as bizarre. Dr. Neuendorff, for example, suggests in all seriousness (p. 34) that the Canadian government might desire to silence the Opposition by imprisoning or "liquidating" them, and proceeds to hazard a guess on the possible action of the Governor in this contingency. She states (p. 194), without adducing any evidence whatever, that Cabinets seem to have been glad when the Governor has gone on tour "as it meant a spell without interference"—certainly a novel explanation for the well-known propensities of Canadian Governors. On page 202 it is stated that the Governor "has never held press conferences in Canada after the American model"—a remark which has implications which are simply startling when coming from one who has devoted years of study to the King's Canadian representative.

Finally, the book, together with its index, contains literally scores of examples of careless errors and inconsistencies. That the Governor stands for "England" may, perhaps, be pardoned; but the statement that "Canada" became a Dominion in 1867, and similar allusions identifying the province of Canada with the Dominion are inexcusable. We learn that only three peerages have been conferred on Canadians, all of whom were living in Great Britain at the

time; and also that there was a Spanish ambassador at Ottawa in 1882. The index yields—under one letter alone—such sloppy entries as the following: Rt. Hon. Stanley Baldwin; Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour (Lord Balfour); Rt. Hon. Bennett; Rt. Hon. R. L. Borden; M. Bourassa; Mr. Bright; Mr. Brodick; Brougham; Hon. Mr. Bryce; Mr. Buchan [not, as one might suppose, Lord Tweedsmuir, but T. R. Buchanan, M.P.].

And yet—the book is not without merit. While its style and arrangement may be exasperating, one person at least will admit that he has learned a great deal about past Canadian Governors which he had never known before. Yet it is information that must be accepted with many reservations; for whatever use is made of it, certain precautions must be followed—check the references, scan the facts, and then rely on your own interpretation!

R. MACGREGOR DAWSON

The University of Toronto.

*The Inter-American System: A Canadian View.* By JOHN P. HUMPHREY.

Issued under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.

Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1942. Pp. xiv, 329. (\$3.00)

THIS, the first full-length study of the Pan-American Union, or more correctly, The Union of American Republics, is symptomatic of the growing interest in Canada in Latin America and in the Union. The account of the Union, which is historical and analytical, though carefully done and clearly written, adds little to the knowledge of the Union already available, but it will be useful for Canadians who have hitherto been dependent on American books for their information. Until recently Pan-Americanism has been more of an aspiration than a reality, but, as Mr. Humphrey points out, important steps have been taken to promote solidarity and to create institutions of co-operation since the development of the "Good Neighbour Policy" of the United States and as a reaction against the growing menace from overseas.

The chief interest to non-Canadian readers (and perhaps to Canadians as well) is the discussion of Canada's relation to the Union. Hitherto Canada's interest in Latin America and in the Union has been slight: Europe is much nearer geographically and culturally; and we have had little commercial relation with Latin-American countries. Mr. Humphrey admits that there is not much prospect of greatly increased bilateral trade; Canadians are not likely to purchase much more from Latin America except at the expense of the West Indies, the United States, and the Far East (the book was written before Pearl Harbor). Canada could produce many manufactured articles for Latin America but we are competitors with American products. Mr. Humphrey makes a case for agreement with the United States or with American producers for a share of Latin-American markets on the ground that Canadian prosperity is so important for the United States and for American investors in Canada. But hope lies rather in the revival of world trade on the old pattern, which would again permit triangular rather than bilateral trade. Mr. Humphrey also points out that Canada and Latin America have many common problems which can only be solved by international agreement and co-operation, among them the problem of agricultural surpluses and the difficulty of obtaining United States dollar exchange.

Mr. Humphrey demolishes the traditional arguments against joining the

Union—that Canada is not a republic, that to join would weaken the remaining imperial ties, that it would bring her still further under the domination of the United States. His arguments for joining are, however, less satisfactory. He argues at length that under the new defence arrangements with the United States Canada's defence policy cannot differ fundamentally from that of the United States; that American defence policy under the Monroe Doctrine has long considered the defence of Latin America as vital; that recently the Monroe Doctrine has been "Pan-Americanized" by agreement of Union members to the principle that aggression against any "American State" is aggression against each; that Canada is an "American State" and that this agreement means that Latin-American republics are prepared to defend Canada; *ergo*, Canada owes a duty to help defend them and can best do so by joining the Union. This legalistic and moralistic approach is scarcely political realism. He is on firmer grounds when he argues that Canada can better protect her interests by membership if at any time the Union should act contrary to her interests. This is getting at the real point; if Canada is convinced that membership is in her interest, as she probably will be shortly since she now has diplomatic relations with several Latin-American countries, she will find no difficulties in accepting membership.

Mr. Humphrey writes clearly and simply and his book is a useful contribution to the growing literature of Canada's external relations. One would wish, however, that he had placed less reliance on the interpretation of formal diplomatic documents, which are often couched in vague and high-sounding terms to cover up real conflicts of interest.

R. A. MacKay

Dalhousie University.

*Les Lettres canadiennes d'autrefois*, III. Par SÉRAPHIN MARION. Ottawa: Editions de l'Université; Hull, P.Q.: Editions "L'Eclair." 1942. Pp. 208. (\$1.00)

In this third volume of his historical and literary studies of the early French-Canadian press M. Marion covers the period from 1806 to 1837.<sup>1</sup> He now enters the realm of purely French-Canadian papers—the *Canadien*, the *Courrier de Québec*, the *Vrai Canadien*, the *Spectateur canadien*, the *Aurore*, the *Minerve*, the *Ami du Peuple*, and others. Though M. Marion's interests are primarily literary and antiquarian, as he points out, the historical sources which he is revealing in these valuable studies are of great interest to historians. In French Canada, as in other parts of Canada, the early newspapers and journals have been too much neglected as sources of social and cultural history. Thus M. Marion is doing historians a service in showing them something of what may be culled from these sources.

The themes which the author has chosen to examine in the newspapers are of prime worth. The persistent struggle for freedom of the press is the first of them. This is considered a striving after abstract ideals by M. Marion, though it seems to the reviewer to be a struggle of French Canadians for self-expression. Though it involved criticism of the government, the author points out that until the later years of the period all the papers showed unbroken

<sup>1</sup>For reviews of volumes I and II, see C.H.R., XXI, 332; XXII, 66.

loyalty to Great Britain. The French-Canadian sense of "fitting freedom" made this a fact until feelings began to run high. The second theme is the attitude towards Napoleon. Anti-Bonapartism was clearly the order of the day until 1815. Then came almost complete silence until 1828. But in 1833 pro-Napoleonic articles began to appear. This shift in sentiment followed the trend in France itself, and in that respect is evidence of the cultural colonialism existing in French Canada. But the lauding of Napoleon also suited the rising anti-English feeling of the period since Bonaparte had been England's enemy. That he was also the "son of the Revolution" was for the moment forgotten.

The third theme is the interest in education, and here M. Marion reveals a lively demand for educational reform. That little or nothing was accomplished of this nature he attributes to the blow dealt education by the dissolution of the Jesuit Order, and the low state of wealth in the community. The discussion of the place of religion in education, and of the relative merits of practical and classical education in this period show that issues we consider very modern in French Canada have a long history. The fourth and last essay is a literary estimate of the poetic work of Michel Bibaud, author of the first collection of poetry published in Canada by a French Canadian. Again in this essay is revealed the cultural colonialism which marked French Canada as it did English Canada. This kind of colonialism persists long after political independence, as the history of the United States readily shows. One wonders if it does not still exist in French Canada if M. Marion's last sentence is an indication. Speaking of the period about which he is writing, he says, "Already Montreal and Quebec dream of a magnificent career: to be in America the advanced sentinels of Paris." It is difficult to know whether M. Marion considers this dream the mark of the subsequent period in French-Canadian development only or as a permanent ideal. There are those in French Canada who would demur from it, saying that Montreal and Quebec dream now of being themselves.

The chief defect in this, as in the previous two volumes, is to be found in the number of citations, and in the digressions. Of interest in themselves, these intrusions tend to break the main threads of discussion and to confuse the reader.

R. M. SAUNDERS

The University of Toronto.

*Histoire de la Province de Québec.* Par ROBERT RUMILLY. V. *Riel*. VI. *Les Nationaux*. VII. *Taillon*. VIII. *Laurier*. IX. *Marchand*. Montreal: Editions Bernard Valiquette. 1942. (\$1.00 each)

IN these five volumes, M. Rumilly carries his history of the province of Quebec from 1885 to 1901. He covers much more than just fifteen years, for the period embraced the political revolution from Conservative to Liberal rule, and, as the author carefully points out, changes even more fundamental in Quebec society and ways of living. These far overshadowed the older party and religious controversies.

The contents of the various volumes call for individual notice. As the title suggests, volume V, *Riel*, concerns itself with the North-West Rebellion and the repercussions of the Rebellion in Quebec. Although M. Rumilly follows the Quebec militia into the field, his interest lies chiefly in the effects of the Rebellion, and the Riel execution, on the Quebec point of view, and on the

fortunes of Quebec public men. *Les Nationaux*, volume VI, deals with the rise and fall of Mercier's coalition, or "National" government, and, what is probably of greater general interest, Mercier's settlement of the vexing problem of the Jesuits' Estates. On this, the author throws a great deal of new light, thanks chiefly to his able use of documents from the archives of Ste. Mary's College in Montreal. The titles of the remaining volumes, *Taillon*, *Laurier*, *Marchand* (volumes VII, VIII, and IX respectively) are self-explanatory. Volume IX contains some very illuminating matter on Quebec attitudes toward the Boer War, as well as Laurier's appraisal of Quebec views.

"Monsieur Laurier, tenez-vous compte de l'opinion de la Province de Québec?"

"Mon cher Henri, la Province de Québec n'a pas d'opinion; elle n'a que des sentiments" [IX, 121].

In fine, M. Rumilly provides a highly interesting, and highly personalized account of Quebec history, and one can express only admiration for the way he drives the many topics of his theme.

Some of these topics merit special notice, because of their inherent interest, and because of the light they throw on the author's methods. In discussing the explosion of popular feeling in the province, and particularly in Montreal, following the execution of Louis Riel, M. Rumilly very properly indicates the coincidence of the great small-pox epidemic which ravaged the city in the spring and summer of 1885 (V, 75 ff.). So far as the reviewer is aware, this is the first published notice of the concurrence of these incidents, the importance of which need not be stressed. The discussion of the settlement of the Jesuits' Estates question is very extended (*vide* volumes V and VI, as well as earlier volumes), but this much emerges: Mercier supplied a statesmanlike and impartial solution to a problem of long standing, and he fully deserved whatever capital he could make of the settlement. In some respects, however, the most interesting sections of the books under review as those dealing with the question of educational reform (volumes VII and IX). As the author makes abundantly clear, educational reform had many ramifications: curriculum, administration, costs, as well as the more venerable, and fundamental, considerations of educational philosophy and national tradition. In view of the present campaign for school reform, the subject has a distinctly topical appeal.

As in the earlier volumes of *L'Histoire de la Province de Québec*, those under review abound in very skilful portrayals of persons. The description of Archbishop Ireland, "... très intellectuel, très brillant, mais dont la charité évangélique ne s'étendait pas aux Canadiens-français..." is lapidary, and sums up the essentials of a long feud. Herein lies, of course, one of the strengths of M. Rumilly's work, for there must be few men who took part in Quebec public life who have escaped his pen. In general, the portraits are kindly, perhaps because the author has sought to concentrate on externals, rather than to probe and analyse.

One feature of these later volumes deserves special notice. M. Rumilly has made a great deal of use of private archives. While it cannot be claimed that any of them have been startlingly revealing, the very number tapped indicates the wealth of material of this kind available. The other material upon which the author has drawn has been discussed in earlier reviews (C.H.R., XXI, 426; XXII, 438). Nevertheless, it is not out of place to emphasize the fact that

*L'Histoire de la Province de Québec* has been built upon extensive, and what must have been painstaking, research.

Taken by and large, the theme running through these latest five volumes of M. Rumilly's history is the modernization of the province of Quebec. In the more obvious sense, it takes the form of physical and material change. Basically, however, it was the coming of the middle class to affluence and office. In 1897, there died Cardinal Taschereau, Bishop Lafèche, and Sir Adolphe Chapleau. Their passing represented the passing of an epoch which had been dominated by what M. Rumilly aptly calls "les grandes familles politiques."

JOHN IRWIN COOPER

McGill University.

*Réflexions sur l'avenir des Canadiens français.* Par EDMOND TURCOTTE. Montréal: Editions Bernard Valiquette. 1942. Pp. 167. (75c.)

EVER since 1763 the French Canadians have been profoundly concerned about their survival as a people upon this continent. Until now they have followed Garneau's ideas in their struggle for survival. They have looked to the past, sought refuge in tradition, have endeavoured to survive by being what they have been. This attitude has been embodied in the motto of Quebec, *Je me souviens*. The novelty of this remarkable book is not then M. Turcotte's concern for French-Canadian survival but the programme for survival which he sets forth.

M. Turcotte has been accused of being a fascist; he has been thought to be a socialist. In our opinion he is neither. He is an intelligent man who is deeply concerned about the future of an imperfectly functioning democracy. If a label must be assigned to him, he is a New Dealer; that is to say he is a North American who sees the weaknesses and abuses of a faltering finance capitalism and who wishes to reform the economic ills of his world without endangering the essential values of democracy.

Since M. Turcotte is attempting to apply general principles of reform to French Canada in particular he has a twofold problem—firstly, to persuade French Canadians to be interested in his programme of reform, to join in a wide movement of reform which comprehends North America at least; secondly, to persuade French Canadians that they can survive as a people in this changed world, and, indeed, only through such changes as he foresees.

For M. Turcotte the matter is self-evident, as his first chapter heading, "To Be or Not To Be," indicates. He puts the case more strikingly still on page 33: "If we have men, whose views on the events of our epoch are unprejudiced, whose insight into the realities of the machine era are clear, then our hopes are permissible. If not, we [the French Canadians] will, in a short time, face [as a people] dispersion, annihilation, and death."

The author's programme of survival follows. The French Canadians must remain true to themselves. They must remain French. They must learn to get over their "inferiority complex." They must rely upon the creative sources of their own genius. They must put away their superstitious faith in "the leader" and "authority," and must train the young to assume naturally the duty of individual responsibility. This means a greater freedom in education, and a greater importance for "practical studies." Withal the "humanities" must retain the leading plan in education, if in proper balance with "practical studies,"

in order that men shall not be trained to be mere specialists but shall see their work as part of a complete philosophy of life.

M. Turcotte is deeply concerned with improvement in public health, and with the training of technical experts. If he does lay himself open to charges of fascist leanings at all it is in connection with his seeming admiration for what we may call bureaucratic technology. The dangers to democracy along that line are clear. But no man, who has put such emphasis upon individual responsibility throughout his book, could fail to see that checks must be put upon technical experts, bureaucratically organized, in the interests of democracy. He has weakened his case by not saying so.

Again, M. Turcotte's faith in increased state power as a necessary control of present abuses takes its inspiration apparently from Scandinavian "co-operation," and the American New Deal; in both cases movements which have some respect for personal integrity, individual initiative, and responsibility. M. Turcotte would make a better impression on a democratic community if he made clear that it is no socialistic paternalism, which like fascism denies these values, at which he aims. The trouble is that M. Turcotte has not allowed himself space enough to lay out his programme in as much detail as it requires.

For French Canada it seems that the vital question is whether these reforms can be accomplished at and through Ottawa, as the author hopes, without bringing into danger the special provincial privileges upon which French Canadians have hitherto based their survival as a separate people. I suspect that his compatriots may need more convincing proof on this point than he offers in his book.

In any event this is a challenging book by a thoughtful man who, as the editor of *Le Canada*, will get himself heard, will exert a strong influence in French Canada, and whose ideas for that reason as well as for their intrinsic worth should command the careful attention of Canadians and Americans.

R. M. SAUNDERS

The University of Toronto.

*Rochester Historical Society Publications*, XX. Part I. *Reminiscences of Rochester in the Nineties*. Part II. *William Berczy's Williamsburg Documents*. Edited by A. J. H. RICHARDSON and HELEN I. COWAN. Rochester: The Society. 1942. Pp. xvi, 278.

IN 1791 William Berczy of Saxony contracted with the Pulteney Association to supply German colonists to settle in the Genesee country. Two shiploads arrived in 1792. The colonists suffered even greater hardships than were usually encountered on the frontier because of the mutual distrust between them and Williamson, the agent of the Pulteney Association, and also from misunderstandings with other settlers. The project collapsed and the immigrants made their way to Markham Township, Upper Canada, where they prospered. A version of the story, much to the discredit of Berczy, has lingered ever since in the traditions of the Genesee country and the deep-dyed villain in Carl Carmer's recent historical novel, *Genesee Fever* (New York, 1941) is William Berczy. The author arrived at his characterization from relying on the accounts of Williamson and his associates. The records now made available for the first time show that Williamson was the real villain, for it was



he who forced the settlers to eat maggoty beef, charged excessive prices, and did everything to promote "Disunion and Disorder." The Berczy letters that were printed in the 1940-1 *Report* of the Archivist of Quebec also showed Berczy in a better light than has tradition. It is to be hoped that these two recent publications in time will be able to catch up with Williamson's side of the story which has become pretty well entrenched.

The Berczy papers are divided between the Public Archives of Canada and the Bâby collection, of which they form a part, in the Sulpician Library, Montreal (now the property of the University of Montreal). A footnote (p. 149) reports that a "topographical description and history of Canada" which Berczy wrote is also preserved in the Sulpician Library. This is an important piece of information because it had been believed that the manuscript was lost.

The Rochester Historical Society has performed a useful service to Canadian history as well as to the history of the Genesee country. The editorial work has been well done by Mr. A. J. H. Richardson and Miss Helen I. Cowan. The volume also contains the reminiscences of eight persons which should prove of great interest to students of the history of Rochester and its vicinity.

J. J. TALMAN

The University of Western Ontario.

*Voyages of the "Columbia" to the Northwest Coast, 1787-90 and 1790-3.* Edited by FREDERIC W. HOWAY. (Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, vol. 79.) Boston: The Society. 1941. Pp. xxxiv, 518.

THIS volume contains (i) "Robert Haswell's Log of the First Voyage of the Columbia," with "Miscellaneous Papers" relating to that voyage; (ii) the narratives of John Hoskins, of Robert Haswell, of John Boit and the "Remnant of the Official Log of the Columbia," with "Miscellaneous Papers"—all relating to the second voyage of the *Columbia*. It is a very great convenience to have everything of value bearing on the voyages of the *Columbia*, some of it never published hitherto, gathered in one beautifully printed and excellently edited volume.

Judge Howay is correct in describing four of the main narratives as "Journals . . . not strictly speaking logs," as they are called. Robert Haswell served on the *Columbia* on its first voyage only on its course to the Falkland Islands, when he was transferred to the ship's sloop, the *Lady Washington*, as second officer (p. 14). His narrative is now of his doings and those of the sloop till he returned to Nootka Sound from his second fur-trading trip on the North-west Coast. From the time when the sloop was separated from the mother-ship in a storm off Cape Horn till this second return to Nootka Sound we hear little of the *Columbia* save that she had arrived at Nootka Sound, and lay anchored there whenever Haswell put into that port. In view of this, the title of the volume "Voyages of the Columbia," however convenient, is to some extent misleading.

The second voyage of the *Columbia* fares much better. To begin with, John Hoskins, her "Clerk," was with the ship from her departure from Boston, as he puts it, on September 27, 1790 (p. 166), till his narrative ends suddenly in March, 1792, when the ship was ready to sail from Clayoquot Sound where it had wintered (p. 279, p. 289). Robert Haswell's second Journal begins

suddenly on August 14, 1791, when he was on the *Columbia* at Port Tempest, on Clarence Strait (p. 293). On March 25, 1792, he had been transferred to the command of the *Adventure*, the *Columbia's* sloop (p. 314n). Thereafter, his narrative tells what he saw of the coast of North-west America from the deck of the sloop, until it was sold to the Spanish Governor Martinez on September 28 of that year at Neah Bay on De Fuca Strait near Cape Flattery, where was the small Spanish post of Nunez Gaona (p. 354f). The Journal was now continued on the *Columbia* till, as published here, it ends abruptly on December 4, 1792, when the ship was off the island of Formosa on her way to Macao (p. 359). In the original the sailing directions are continued (as Judge Howay indicates in a note) until December 7, when an agreement was made to have her piloted into Macao Roads. The "Remarks" of John Boit, at the outset fifth mate of the *Columbia*, begin with the ship's departure from Boston on September 28 (as he has it), 1790 (p. 364), and continues until she returned by way of Cape of Good Hope on July 25, 1793 (p. 431).

The Remnant of the Official Log of the *Columbia* printed here is as it was published in Robert Greenhow's *The History of Oregon and California* (Boston, 1844), pages 434-6, the original having meanwhile disappeared. It gives the movements of the *Columbia* from May 7, 1792, when she entered the Columbia River, to May 21, the day after she left.

All of these narratives are of great value as showing the way in which the Americans established an interest in the North-west Coast which led to their claim to the valley of the Columbia River, and even, because of the many subsequent similar voyages of their ships, their claims to the coast as far as the Alaskan Boundary at 54°40'. Haswell's narrative is an almost impersonal statement of the itinerary of the ship on which he was serving at the time, of the doings of its men, and of their trade with the natives, but it carefully omits any discreditable proceedings. In contrast, John Hoskins wrote with a lively personal interest "to fill his leisure" and "in the hopes to amuse." With a perceiving mind, he took time to describe what he saw. John Boit's "Remarks" strike one as being the most understanding of them all, and the most truthful. He reports, usually with disapproval, the reckless shooting down of the natives. As an illustration of his insight into things, compare his statement of the value of the Columbia River for the fur trade (p. 378f.) with Haswell's uninforming reference to Captain Gray's discovery of the river (p. 336) and even with the official log of the *Columbia* itself.

The "Miscellaneous Papers" throw much light on the home end of the venture whose hopes were centred in the *Columbia*.

Judge Howay's work as editor is a model of pertinency. In the preface he confines himself to introducing the narratives and their authors. In the notes he avails himself of his incomparable knowledge of the navigators of the coast to comment on the ships and their commanders met by the Americans. Most valuable of all, he follows the *Columbia* and its sloops along the intricate coast, and indicates where the Indian villages mentioned were, or actually are. Aware of the difficulties found by readers in remembering their outlandish names, he repeats the substance of his note whenever the place is revisited. He has made the volume indispensable to the student of this phase of the history of the North-west Coast.

ARTHUR S. MORTON

Historical Public Records Office of Saskatchewan.

*The Red River Valley, 1811-1849: A Regional Study.* By JOHN PERRY PRITCHETT. (The Relations of Canada and the United States, a series of studies prepared under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History, James T. Shotwell, Director.) New Haven: Yale University Press; Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1942. Pp. xxii, 295. (\$2.75)

PROFESSOR JAMES T. SHOTWELL, the editor of the series, in the Introduction refers to volumes already published dealing with two of the "three river systems which definitely cut across the [international] border . . . opening gateways to movements of history"—the Richelieu River and the Columbia River. This is the volume dealing with the third, the Red River, leading "to Lake Winnipeg and the far reaches of Hudson Bay."

The volume is by a scholar who is so intimate with his source material that he can write in great detail, yet with accuracy and clearness. Not content with the large body of Selkirk transcripts in the Public Archives of Canada, he has studied the originals in the home that was Lord Selkirk's. He expresses his obligation to Sir Charles and Lady Hope-Dunbar "for their kindness and their permission to use the Selkirk Papers at St. Mary's Isle, Kirkcudbright, Scotland." Accordingly, he is able to associate the outward circumstances and the surrounding country with the story of the growth of the lad who ultimately succeeded to his father as Lord Selkirk. It catches one's fancy that St. Mary's Isle was plundered by the privateer Paul Jones of the American colonies in revolt, and that Lord Selkirk once wrote: ". . . When I was but a youth I developed an antipathy for the United States, due almost solely to the buccaneering of John Paul" (p. 17).

Out of the plenitude of his knowledge of Selkirk's and the North West Company's statements and actions, Mr. Pritchett has been able to give a clear and convincing account of the vicissitudes of the development of the Red River colony, with many illuminating quotations and numerous intimate details. He brings out into the open the schemes of the Northwesters to bring his lordship's settlement to naught. That colonization spells destruction to the fur trade was the main theme of their propaganda, and Mr. Pritchett agrees, in general, but it should be emphasized that it did not prove so until (what could not very well be foreseen then) "the American frontier was sweeping westward and northward toward the Mississippi and the British-American boundary," thirty years later.

Mr. Pritchett's abundant use of the correspondence of the Northwesters seized by Lord Selkirk at Fort William leaves the story of their plot to destroy the incipient colony beyond doubt. Particularly fresh are the sections dealing with the prosecution of Selkirk by the government for resisting arrest—"Retributive Justice," as he calls it—and the manœuvres of the politicians whom the Northwesters had properly primed, Mr. Goulburn of the Colonial Office in particular, to convince people that both parties to the strife—the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company—were equally guilty of violence, and that the true solution of the trouble would be the union of the two companies.

Satisfactory as is Mr. Pritchett's use of the *Selkirk Papers*, it must be admitted that they do not give him the true explanation of how Lord Selkirk secured from the Hudson's Bay Company the grant of 116,000 square miles for the token payment of ten shillings. At page 38 the note stating that the stock

bought by Lord Selkirk and his connections was estimated at £35,000 or £40,000 suggests the explanation given to the public by the North West Partners, namely that he now controlled the Company and brought it to his will. The "Stock Book" and the Minutes of the General Court which gave the grant show that it was far otherwise. At this decisive hour Selkirk owned but £4,087.10s. of stock. With the addition of the £8,561.13s.4d. stock owned by his brother-in-law, Andrew Wedderburn, the total stock of the Selkirk connection which voted was no more than £13,000.3s.4d. out of the Company's total stock of some £103,000.

The grant to Selkirk of the land for a colony must be looked at not only from Selkirk's point of view, but from that of the Company. Selkirk's plans can be gathered from his "Advertisement and Prospectus of the New Colony," printed by Mr. Pritchett *in extenso* at page 49ff. They envisaged a great colony supplying the hungry machines of the Industrial Revolution with hemp and wool. This colony never came into actual being. The re-organization of the Company, first sketched in 1810 and modified to take in Selkirk's colony, sought to rehabilitate the Company by means of a settlement that would supply the Company's posts with cheap provisions and with cheap labour. Not Selkirk's dream, but the Company's practical scheme was realized in the Red River settlement, for it became handmaid to the fur trade.

A series of chapters about the colony as it developed after the union of the rival companies in 1821 are full of fresh material, bringing out its growth up to the Red River flood of 1826; and the migration of the De Meurons and the Swiss south into the United States to be the first agricultural settlers in the Minnesota-to-be. There follows a swift sketch of the growth of American trade—at first the fur trade—and settlement westward till the people of the Red River settlement had a profitable market within reach, one outside the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company. Smuggling became the order of the day. The story closes at this juncture when the fur trade was about to give place to settlement.

ARTHUR S. MORTON

Historical Public Records Office of Saskatchewan.

*The History of the State of Ohio.* Edited by CARL WITKE. II. *The Frontier State, 1803-25* by WILLIAM T. UTTER. Columbus: Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society. 1942. Pp. xiv, 454.

OHIO was the first state to be carved out of the Old Northwest Territory. Though the population of the designated area was considerably less than the 60,000 required by the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, skilful lobbying on the part of Thomas Worthington overcame strong Federalist opposition both at Washington and within the proposed new state. An acrimonious struggle was concluded when Congress accepted the constitution drafted by a convention meeting at Chillicothe in November, 1802. In 1800 the population of the future Ohio was 42,161, an average of one inhabitant to the square mile. Ten years later the population had increased to 230,760 and in 1820 it was 581,295, placing Ohio fifth among the states of the Union. The figures indicate the speed with which the area was opened up. The most common sound to be heard was that of the axe. Ohioans were engaged, literally, "in getting out of the woods."

Professor Utter's approach to this period of Ohio's history, the first two decades of statehood, is distinctly economic and social. Political history is

subordinated and it is the story of the people which is narrated, how they farmed and traded, how they prospered or suffered depression, how they found recreation and how they sought the life of the spirit. It is a narrative of special interest to Ontario because the development of Ohio from 1800 to 1820 is so like the development in the Canadian province between 1820 and 1840. There are whole sections of this volume which, with the simple change of a few geographical names, could be applied to a somewhat later Ontario. This is particularly true of the chapters dealing with agriculture and industry and with social and religious life.

A belief that British agents were inciting Indian outrages was current in Ohio, as elsewhere in the west, before the war of 1812, and was a factor in bringing support for the contest with England. Henry Clay's position and that of his "War Hawk" following were heartily approved, but the author finds little evidence that Ohioans in general were eager to conquer Canada for the sake of new lands. The battle of the Thames marked the conclusion of the war, so far as Ohio was concerned; thereafter the guarding of the frontier was their only concern, and opposition to the administration's policies was to be found in certain Federalist quarters. Mr. Utter quotes a toast at a Washington birthday dinner in Zanesville: "The Canadas—The land of others, let us defend our own."

This new six-volume history of Ohio has been financed by a state appropriation and the separate volumes are written by authorities in their respective fields. Paper, printing, and illustrations are all of fine quality. The maps of settlement, population, and communications are clear and understandable. While no bibliography is provided there are adequate footnote references in which it will be noticed that newspaper sources have been used extensively. The index is complete and well arranged. The reviewer would express his own pleasure and satisfaction in reading this volume.

FRED LONDON

The University of Western Ontario.

*The First Two Years: A Record of the Jewish Pioneers on Canada's Pacific Coast, 1858-60.* By DAVID ROME. Montreal: H. M. Caiserman. 1942. Pp. 120.

THIS small volume sheds new light on the period of the gold rushes in British Columbia. It is from the pen of a young Jewish Canadian, Mr. David Rome. Born in Russia, Mr. Rome came to Canada and received most of his education on the west coast. While attending the University of British Columbia he became interested in the story of the Jews in the Pacific province. Finding that practically nothing had been written on the subject, Mr. Rome delved into the original sources and spent some time combing the records in the Provincial Archives at Victoria. *The First Two Years* is the result. It is obviously a labour of love.

After a perusal of Mr. Rome's little book, two or three points stand out for special mention. The first is the almost complete lack of anti-Semitism revealed by it. Jews were readily accepted in British Columbia. Many of them became members of Masonic lodges. Selim Franklin was elected to the Legislative Assembly of Vancouver Island. Jews were prominent members of the volunteer fire brigades at Victoria. The one instance of anti-Semitism, the

speech of a certain Major Foster, is discussed at length (pp. 106-12). The second feature is the antiquarian thoroughness with which the author has dug up every possible detail regarding the members of the Jewish community in Victoria. His industry is commendable but at times the results are a little wearisome. No reader, however, can fail to be interested in the account of David Belasco's early adventures and struggles in Victoria (pp. 24-9). The last point which emerges is that from its humble beginnings in 1858 the Victoria Jewish community was a community in feeling and purpose. One of its first actions was to establish a cemetery. Soon there followed the inauguration of a Hebrew Benevolent Society and the launching of a building fund for a synagogue. Mr. Rome may be pardoned for claiming that the pioneers of whom he writes were "a remarkable group of men containing future mayors of the major cities of the province, members of the legislature, founders of industries, shipping men, manufacturers, pioneers, miners, real estate men and actors" (p. 30).

One of the longest sections of the book deals with the difficulties encountered by Selim Franklin when he was called upon to take the oath as a member of the Legislative Assembly. The oath then ran "on the true faith of a Christian" and Franklin could not take it in that form. A long controversy ensued and at length a way out was found. Strangely enough, no great anti-Semitic feeling was aroused by the incident.

Mr. Rome is to be congratulated for his painstaking industry and his enthusiasm. Unfortunately his performance is a bit uneven and he has tended rather to write a chronicle of the Jewish settlement in Victoria than to give us a well-balanced history of the early Jews in British Columbia. None the less he has rescued much valuable material from oblivion, and we trust that the present short volume is but an earnest of a greater harvest.

W. N. SAGE

The University of British Columbia.

*Bluenose: A Portrait of Nova Scotia.* By DOROTHY DUNCAN. New York, London: Harper and Brothers [Toronto: Wm. Collins Sons and Co.]. 1942. Pp. xii, 273. (\$3.00)

*Cape Breton Over.* By CLARA DENNIS. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1942. Pp. xiv, 342. (\$3.50)

NOVA SCOTIA has been a happy hunting ground for historians for a long time. As the missionary in foreign fields was followed by the trader, so historians of Nova Scotia are being followed by a series of writers who want to capture past and present for the "general" reader. Both of the above books fall into the category of travel. It is ironical that they appear when our cars are our white elephants, and when our trains are bursting at the seams. But they will be a consolation to the arm-chair wanderer.

In her prologue, Miss Duncan, author of *Here's to Canada* (New York, 1941), writes: "*Bluenose* is essentially the portrait of a province, but it must be remembered that a portrait is not a photograph. In this book the author is attempting to depict the personality of a place and a people in much the same way that a novelist draws the personality of a character. So it is only incidentally a travel book, though its intention is to enlarge vision and understanding of a portion of the earth comprised in a geographical unit." That is perhaps as

adequate a description as could be found for *Bluenose*. It is a competently written book, based on personal impressions, good secondary historical sources, government tourist publications, and descriptions by other writers, from Frederic S. Cozzens to T. Morris Longstreth. There is a good index and bibliography, and at the end of almost every chapter there is a summary of the points of interest along the section of highway covered, and the hotels recommended are the right ones. The book is attractive, well illustrated, with a good road map which fits the text on the end papers. Miss Duncan covers past and present, with interesting accounts of sailing ships and their builders, Nova Scotian place and personal names, the co-operative movement, and prominent Nova Scotians dead and alive. What may be an added attraction to some readers are the highly personal and purple patches scattered here and there through the book. Miss Duncan, an American, met and married a Nova Scotian (Hugh MacLennan, author of *Barometer Rising*), and the halo which tops her portrait of him extends to embellish his family and the whole province. On an astringent mind the effect is as cloying as a schoolgirl's diary.

If Miss Duncan's book is a portrait, Miss Dennis's is a daguerreotype. She has already written two earnest books on her native province: *Down in Nova Scotia* (Toronto, 1934), and *More About Nova Scotia* (Toronto, 1937). In *Cape Breton Over* she continues to record all she has seen and been told on her travels, particularly by the elderly descendants of early settlers. The result is an amorphous mass of folk-lore, description, and local history. In his foreword, the Honourable Angus L. Macdonald writes: "There is much here [in Cape Breton] to write about—the stirring history of early days, the romantic legend, the beginnings of industrial development, the customs and manners of a noble people, and that happily blended beauty of mountain and valley and forest, of meadow and lake and river, of sea and sky, which our Island enjoys in such rare and picturesque degree." This is apt to be the response of all good Cape Bretoners.

MARION GILROY

Regional Libraries Commission, Nova Scotia.

*Field Manual for Museums.* By NED J. BURNS. Washington: [National Park Service], United States Government Printing Office. No date. Pp. xii, 426. (70c.)

ALTHOUGH the importance of museums and of museum exhibits is generally recognized, it is doubtful if more than a few specialists realize the extent to which this method of education has grown in recent years.

Fifty years ago, museums contained miscellaneous assortments of "curios," "monstrosities," or "knick-knacks," brought together for the amusement of visitors; today, a museum—and its contents—must fill a definite niche in the educational policy of the community. This interesting volume shows how one type of museum is performing that function for a particular type of "community," the National Parks of the United States. In 1939 there were one hundred and thirteen museums in the American parks, visited annually by millions, and thereby playing their part in the service given by the parks to their owners, the people of the United States. While it is true that the primary function of a park is the preservation of the area itself and of objects in it in their natural surroundings, this use can best be achieved by the placing of selected objects,



adequately displayed and labelled, in a central and accessible museum. Here the visitor can see specimens of fossils or minerals for which the area is celebrated; mounted animals or birds, or models of them, to aid in field identification; tools of the Indian aborigines and reconstructions of their homes; documents or books pertaining to the history of the locality; in brief, the objects which enable the visitor to view intelligently the park area. The park museum has proved its value in the United States, and if one may prophesy on the basis of the development in the past forty years, is a permanent part of the park system.

In Canada we have lagged. Canadian parks are second to none in scenic attractions and in historic interest. It is to be hoped that in the future there may be added to these advantages the help to knowledgeable pleasure that comes from the local museum—whether historic house or special building.

T. F. McILWRAITH

The University of Toronto.

*Building the Canadian Nation.* By GEORGE W. BROWN. Toronto, Vancouver: J. M. Dent and Sons (Canada) Ltd. 1942. Pp. xiv, 478. (\$2.25)

This book, which is a general history of Canada for secondary schools, affords a striking illustration of the growth of Canadian historiography during the past twenty-five years. The volume is, in the first place, solidly based on the historical research of the past quarter century; and, as a result, there is a new variety and richness of material. Fur trade and timber trade, canals and railways, schools and churches, all find their place in the story; and a real, and a successful, effort to cover all regions and to include all important provincial developments has been made. The method by which this is done, the pattern which holds the book together and carries forward the many phases of our continental development, is probably one of the most valuable features of Mr. Brown's history. The book is divided into six parts, each covering a fairly well marked period, dominated by a few important themes. In each part, which usually includes six or eight chapters, the treatment, broadly speaking, is chronological. It is true that the variety of the material sometimes necessitates topical chapter divisions; but the result is never a group of chapters which one after another retrace the entire period from beginning to end. In the main, each section carries the story forward one stage further, while at the same time it takes the whole broad Dominion as its scene. In its arrangement, the book makes a distinct contribution to Canadian historiography. It is, moreover, well illustrated, with pictures which have been carefully related to the material in the text.

D. G. CREIGHTON

The University of Toronto.

*The Women Pioneers of North America.* By SOPHY L. ELLIOTT. Gardenvale, P.Q.: Garden City Press. 1941. Pp. xviii, 299.

THIS book is frankly a work of popularization designed "to cement friendship and understanding between the two races" in Canada. It is directed to the English-speaking Canadian public, and is a pleasant, readable account of the careers of certain well-known heroic Frenchwomen in the "French period" of

Canadian history. Miss Elliott's paintings are splendidly reproduced. They constitute the most original and impressive part of the book. The title is misleading since there were other parts of North America besides New France which had heroic women pioneers.

It should be remarked that this is another of the books whose authors attempt to promote better relations between French and English in Canada at the present by popularizing or idealizing the persons and events of the remote past. That there is naïveté and a lack of realism in this attitude does not need to be pointed out. Books which stress the heroism of French Canadians up to 1763, and are then pointedly silent about subsequent generations of French Canadians, are likely to leave English-speaking Canadians with the impression that French Canadians ceased to be heroic in 1763. This would hardly be fair to the French Canadians, and would do little to promote better feeling between French and English in Canada. Writers with such aspirations should realize that if greater harmony is to be cultivated between these two groups, they must meet together and study their existing contemporary problems. Mutual admiration of a distant glorious past often leads nowhere except to misunderstanding and disillusionment. Sentimental good-will alone cannot solve these problems.

R. M. SAUNDERS

The University of Toronto.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

PREPARED BY THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

(Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review. The following abbreviations are used: B.R.H.—Bulletin des recherches historiques; C.H.R.—CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW; C.J.E.P.S.—Canadian journal of economics and political science.)

### I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

*The Empire and the war—Canada* (Statist, Aug. 8, 1942, 581-2).

HALL, H. DUNCAN. *The community of the Parliaments of the British Commonwealth* (American political science review, XXXVI (6), Dec., 1942, 1128-35). Describes the working of the Empire Parliamentary Conference, "the centre of the Parliamentary intercourse of the Empire."

KEITH, A. BERRIEDALE. *Notes on imperial constitutional law* (Journal of comparative legislation and international law, XXIV, part ii, Nov., 1942, 130-41). Of more direct interest to Canadians are the sections on "Direct Taxation in Canada" and "Uniformity of Legislation."

RUSSELL, SIR ALISON. *The constitution of the British Commonwealth* (Journal of comparative legislation and international law, XXIV, part ii, Nov., 1942, 83-90). A review of the constitution, written or unwritten, which governs administration in the Commonwealth.

### II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

AHL, FRANCES NORENE. *Canada and hemisphere defense* (Social studies, XXXIII (8), Dec., 1942, 363-4). A summing up of Canada's war effort.

ALEXANDER, WILLIAM H. *Canada and hemispheric defense* (*Problems of Hemispheric Defense*, Lectures delivered on the Berkeley campus of University of California, autumn, 1942, 55-91). A lecture delivered on October 1, 1941.

AMERDING, HUDSON TAYLOR. *The Halibut Treaty of 1923 between Canada and the United States* (Clark University bulletin, Abstract of dissertations and theses, 1942, 146-8). Abstract of a thesis accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Master's degree at Clark University.

ANGERS, FRANÇOIS-ALBERT. *Quelques aspects des relations économiques entre le Canada et l'Amérique latine* (L'Actualité économique, fév., 1942, 384-9).

B., R. *Québec et les Franco-Américains* (Le quartier latin, déc., 1941).

BENOÎT, JOSEPHINE. *La J. O. C. franco-américaine* (Bulletin de la Société historique franco-américaine, déc., 1941, 74-9). History of this socio-religious movement modelled on that of French Canada.

BURT, A. L. *The American key* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, XII (2), avril-juin, 1942, 153-66). A study of "how the development of British colonial policy and the transformation of the Empire into the British Commonwealth of Nations have been conditioned by the American Revolution, the existence of the republic to which it gave birth, and the close juxtaposition of the United States and British North America."

Canada, Dominion of, Treaty series, 1940, no. 7. *Universal postal convention together with the detailed regulations for its execution, signed at Buenos Aires, May 23, 1939.* Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 267. (25c.)

- DUMOUCHEL, JEAN. *Le Statut international du Canada et les traités d'après guerre (1918-1930)* (L'Actualité économique, jan., 1942, 248-64). Presents the story of Canada's achievement at the Paris Peace Conference in having her international status recognized.
- FONTAINE, CLAIRE. *Le Jubilé de l'A.C.A.* [Association canado-américaine] (Le Travailleur, nov. 27, 1941).
- LEBLANC, FERNAND. *Le Canada et l'Argentine* (L'Actualité économique, nov., 1942, 44-68). A study of trade between the two countries.
- MCEachern, R. A. *South America—and Canada* (Canadian geographical journal, XXXVI (1), Jan., 1943, 3-13). In Canada's relations with the United States lies the answer to her relations with South America.
- PERRAULT, JOSEPH EDOUARD. *La Commission joint internationale* (L'action universitaire, VIII (8), avril, 1942, 3-6, 18).
- SKELTON, D. A. *Canada-United States trade relationships* (Journal of farm economics, XXIV, Feb., 1942, 35-41).

### III. CANADA AND THE WAR

- ANGERS, FRANÇOIS-ALBERT. *Le point de rupture* (L'Actualité économique, mars, 1942, 478-84). Believes that, in conducting the war, insufficient attention has been paid to the needs and problems of the civil population at home, and that the breaking-point will be reached in 1942-3 if attention is not given to these needs and problems.
- ARMSTRONG, P. C. *The war for parliamentary government: An address delivered at Queen's University, Dec. 1, 1942.* [Kingston: The University.] 1942. Pp. 15.
- ASHLEY, C. A. (ed.). *Reconstruction in Canada.* Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1943. Pp. xvi, 148. (\$1.00) A series of ten lectures given at the University of Toronto in the autumn of 1942. Their titles are: "The General Economic Setting" by R. H. COATS; "International Economic Collaboration" by J. F. PARKINSON; "Democratic Institutions" by A. BRADY; "Soil and Water" by A. F. COVENTRY; "Forest Resources" by G. G. COSENS; "Water, Its Use and Control" by R. F. LEGGETT; "Construction Projects" by C. R. YOUNG; "The Social Services" by S. K. JAFFARY; "Housing and Town Planning" by E. R. ARTHUR; "Recapitulation and the Ideals of Reconstruction" by H. J. CODY. A short bibliography is included.
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- Announcement by Donald Gordon, Chairman, Wartime Prices and Trade Board, Imperial Oil Hockey Broadcast, Sat., Dec. 5, 1942* [price reductions on coffee, tea, oranges, and milk]. Ottawa: The Board. Dec., 1942. Pp. 5 (mimeo.).
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- CASSIDY, HARRY M. *Social security and reconstruction in Canada*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1943. Pp. x, 197. (\$2.50 cloth; \$2.00 paper) Outlines and appraises the existing Canadian system of social services, province by province, showing how this has failed to meet the needs of the people for social security, and pointing out the general direction in which future policy should move.
- COHEN, MAXWELL. *Canada votes total war* (New republic, no. 106, May 11, 1942, 631-2).
- COLQUETTE, R. D. *Pattern for rehabilitation* (Country guide, Oct., 1942, 9, 57). Puts forward his views on measures that must be taken in any reconstruction scheme in Canada.
- COMSTOCK, ALZADA. *Canada's selective service dispute* (Current history, III (17), Jan., 1943, 407-8). A discussion of the issues involved, which came to a crisis in the resignation of Mr. Elliott Little, Director of National Selective Service, in November, 1942.
- COX, LEO. *French Canada at war* (Canadian business, XV (12), Dec., 1942, 34-9, 115-16). An article pointing out that French Canada's contributions to the war are not being given full credit. "There seems to be far more clamour about what French Canada is not doing than about what she is doing."
- ELLIOTT, T. R. *The motor car industry makes victory its business* (Canadian geographical journal, XXV (6), Dec., 1942, 298-313). With the General Motors Company of Oshawa taken as an example, the author describes the contributions the industry is making to the war effort, and the importance of the principles of mass production and interchangeable parts.
- HARRISON, W. E. C., NEIL M. MORRISON, R. G. ANGLIN, J. F. PARKINSON, PAUL M. LIMBERT. *Canada: The war and after*. (Live and learn books.) Issued by the Young Men's Committee, National Council, Y.M.C.A. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1942. Pp. viii, 78. (60c.)
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- Canada. I. *The problem of manpower* (Round table, no. 129, Dec., 1942, 76-9). Comments on the working of the new controls over manpower given to the National Selective Service organization as from September 1, 1942.
- LEA, H. W. *Technical personnel of Canada at war* (McGill news, XXIV (2), winter, 1942, 11-12, 58-9). Describes the working of the Wartime Bureau of Technical Personnel, set up February 12, 1941.
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- LOWER, A. R. M. and PARKINSON, J. F. (eds.). *War and reconstruction: Some Canadian issues*. (Addresses given at the Canadian Institute on Public Affairs, Aug. 15-23, 1942.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1942. Pp. xiv, 106. (75c.) Titles of the addresses are: "A Spectator's View of Canada at War" by P. J. PHILIP; "Financing the War" by R. B. BRYCE; "The Principles of National Selective Service" by L. E. WESTMAN; "Trends and Consequences of Price Control in Canada" by K. W. TAYLOR; "What Canada's War Effort might be" by E. TURCOTTE; "International Economic Reconstruction" by J. VINER; "Rebuilding America" by G. GREER; "Reconstruction: Problems of the Transition Period within Canada" by L. C. MARSH; "The Question of the Constitution" by R. M. FOWLER; "Recent Agricultural Policies and the Future of the Canadian Economy" by J. E. LATTIMER; "Agriculture in the Reconstruction Period" by H. H. HANNAM; "The Future Development of the Social Services" by G. F. DAVIDSON; "Labour Problems in Quebec" by R. BROSSARD; "Reconstruction: The French-Canadian Viewpoint" by J. D'A. RICHARD.
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- MOORE, H. NAPIER. *It's a fine army* (Maclean's magazine, LV (21), Nov. 1, 1942, 12-13, 27-8). The opinion of one who has seen the Canadian troops in England.
- New York *Herald-Tribune*. Special section in the issue of Jan. 3, 1943, is devoted to Canada and Canada's war effort.
- PATTON, H. S. *Wartime wheat policy in Canada* (Journal of farm economics, Nov., 1942, 772-91).
- PEASE, MARY AGNES. *A little story of service* (Canadian geographical journal, XXXVI (1), Jan., 1943, 48-64). The war services of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire are explained.
- Préparons l'après-guerre. Lord Cecil and la S.N.D.* by HECTOR MACKAY. *Le commerce international* by JEAN-MARIE NADEAU. *Pour une charte de travail* by ROGER BROSSARD. *La coopération économique internationale* by FRANÇOIS VÉZINA (L'action universitaire, IX (2), oct., 1942, 9-14).
- Public Affairs*, vol. VI (2), special issue. This issue has been devoted to reconstruction and Canadian post-war organization. Each of the contributors deals with a phase of the problem with which he is particularly familiar and is for the most part both critical and constructive.
- REYBURN, WALLACE. *What we learned at Dieppe* (Maclean's magazine, LV (19), Oct. 1, 1942, 12-13, 40-1).
- ROBERTS, LESLIE. *Are Canadians offense-minded?* (Canadian business, XV (12), Dec., 1942, 66-7, 114-15). The author does not believe that the Canadian people at home are thinking and living total war.
- *Canada's place in the war* (Free world, II, May, 1942, 363-6).
- ROBERTSON, J. K. *Science and reconstruction in Canada*. Ottawa: The Royal Society. 1942. Pp. 13. A paper read at a joint session of the Royal Society of Canada in Convocation Hall of the University of Toronto on Friday, May 29, 1942.
- Selected list of wartime pamphlets*, no. 3. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 23.
- SHEA, ALBERT A. and ESTORICK, ERIC. *Canada and the short-wave war*. (Behind the headlines series, III (1).) Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education, Canadian Institute of International Affairs. 1942. Pp. 36. (10c.)

SHORT, C. M. *Free enterprise in the post-war world* [in four parts] (Canadian business, Sept., Oct., Dec., 1942; Jan., 1943).

SWINDLER, WILLIAM F. *War-time news control in Canada* (Public opinion quarterly, VI (3), fall, 1942, 444-9).

#### IV. HISTORY OF CANADA

##### (1) General History

DELANGLEZ, JEAN. *Franquelin, mapmaker* (Mid-America, XXV (1), Jan., 1943, 29-74). Sketches the career and the work of Franquelin, who in the seventeenth century drew the greatest number of general and sectional maps of North America, of the Mississippi Valley, and of the Great Lakes region.

WADE, MASON. *Francis Parkman: Heroic historian*. New York: Viking Press [Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada]. 1942. Pp. xiv, 466. (\$5.75) To be reviewed later.

##### (2) Discovery and Exploration

RESNICK, WILLIAM S. *The dragon ship: A story of the Vikings in America*. New York: Coward-McCann, Inc. [Toronto: Longmans Green and Co.]. 1942. Pp. x, 214. (\$3.00) A children's story about the Vikings, built around the belief that the island now known as Martha's Vineyard was Leif Ericsson's Vinland.

##### (3) New France

BRUCHESI, JEAN. *Montréal en 1760* (L'action universitaire, VIII (9), mai, 1942, 11-13). Describes the city as it was in the eighteenth century.

*Fidélité à Ville-Marie: Récits et légendes*. Montréal: Les Éditions de la Société des Écrivains canadiens. 1942. Pp. 162. (80c.) A collection of essays paying tribute to the heroes and brave days of Ville-Marie, by a group of French-Canadian boys and girls.

*Un fondatrice et son œuvre: Mère Mallet et l'Institut des Sœurs de la Charité de Québec*. [Québec]: Maison-Mère des Sœurs de la Charité. [1939]. Pp. 624. (\$2.00)

GODBOUT, ARCHANGE. *Documents inédits sur une "chicane" célèbre* (Culture, III (1), mars, 1942, 31-48). New light on one of the most famous "squabbles" over precedence under the French régime.

*L'Hôtel-Dieu, premier Hôpital de Montréal, 1642-1763*. Montréal: Therien Frères. 1942. Pp. 420. (\$2.50)

LANCOT, GUSTAVE. *L'histoire française de Villemarie, 1642-1760* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, XII (3), juillet-sept., 1942, 279-301).

\_\_\_\_\_. *Montréal au temps de la Nouvelle-France, 1642-1760*. Montréal: G. Ducharme. 1942. Pp. 25. (25c.)

MALCHELOSSE, GÉRARD. *François-Marie Perrot: Deuxième gouverneur de Montréal et sa famille*. Montreal: Les Éditions des Dix. 1942. Pp. 39. M. Perrot, governor of Montreal from 1670 to 1684, carried on an illegal traffic with the Indians, exchanging brandy for furs, and gave open protection to the lawless bands of *coureurs de bois*. His conduct aroused so much resentment that Frontenac had him arrested and tried before the Superior Council of Quebec in 1674. He was sent to France and kept for three months in the Bastille, but on his release the governorship of Montreal was restored to him. In 1684 he was appointed governor of Acadia, but his malpractices continued; he was removed from his office but continued as a trader at Port Royal, and was taken prisoner by Phips in 1690. He died at Martinique in 1691.

MARCHEL, LÉON. *Les origines de Montréal: Ville-Marie, 1642-65*. Montreal: Beauchemin et Bulletin des Études françaises. 1942. (\$1.25)



- MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Celui qu'on ne pouvait détenir au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (B.R.H., XLVIII(1), jan., 1942, 12-14). Relates the incident of the man called "l'athlète de la liberté," a Houdini of the seventeenth century, who could not be kept prisoner.
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- La fiancée de Cavalier de la Salle* (B.R.H., XLVIII (9), sept., 1942, 279-80). A note on Mademoiselle de Roybon d'Alonne.
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- La pension Morand à Montréal au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (B.R.H., XLVIII (11), nov., 1942, 339-44). Nicholas Morand's pension was the leading hotel in Montreal in the eighteenth century.
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- Quelques Montréalais au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (B.R.H., XLVIII (12), déc., 1942, 358-61). Some of those mentioned are Judith Rigaud, Jacques Passard, her son-in-law, and her various husbands.

PROVENCHER, ROLANDE. *Les premiers Montréalais* (L'action universitaire, VIII (9), mai, 1942, 7-9). Recalls the difficulties and distresses which beset the founders of Montreal.

R[OY], P.-G. *Ce qu'était un marchand forain?* (B.R.H., XLVIII (12), déc., 1942, 372-4). Throughout the French régime, various ordinances were passed restricting the rights of foreign traders to trade with the savages, none of them being entirely successful.

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*Le moulin banal dans la Nouvelle-France* (B.R.H., XLIX (1), jan., 1943, 3-9). Reminds his readers that the seigneurs, far from exploiting their rights of "banalité," seldom received any returns from the mills they were obliged to maintain. The writer presents a bibliography of various ordinances and judgments to prove his case.

#### (4) British North America before 1867

ADAMS, RANDOLPH G. and PECKHAM, HOWARD H. (comps.), with a foreword by WILLIAM A. GANOE, Colonel, U.S.A. *Lexington to Fallen Timbers, 1775-94*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1942. Pp. 41. Episodes from the early history of the American fighting forces, illustrated by original maps and papers in the William Clements Library of the University of Michigan.

BELKNAP, HENRY WYCKOFF (comp.). *A check list of Salem privateers in the War of 1812* (Essex Institute Historical Collections, LXXIX (1), Jan., 1943, 19-46). The list is continued from volume LXXVIII.

CARTER, CLARENCE EDWIN (comp. and ed.). *The territorial papers of the United States*. Vol. X. *The territory of Michigan, 1805-20*. Washington: U.S. Govt. Printing Office. Superintendent of Documents. 1942. Pp. xii, 948. (\$2.00)

EALY, LAWRENCE O. *Tacony farm*. Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company. 1942. Pp. 349. (\$2.50) An American historical romance of the Napoleonic era and the War of 1812.

HARPER, FRANCIS (ed.). *Diary of a journey through the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida, from July 1, 1765, to April 10, 1766, by John Bartram*. (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, XXXIII, Part 1.) Philadelphia: The Society, 104 South Fifth Street. December, 1942. Pp. iv, 120, with plates.

HARRIS, CYRIL. *One braver thing*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1942. Pp. [x], 416. (\$2.75) An historical novel of the period of the American Revolution.

JAFFIN, GEORGE. *New world constitutional harmony: A pan-Americanian panorama*. New York: *Columbia Law Review*. 1942. Pp. iv, 53. This is a reprint of a recent article in the *Columbia Law Review*. In a discussion of constitutional theory and practice which extends from Athens to the present day, the author concludes that the Constitution of the United States became on both sides of the Atlantic "the common denominator of constitutional democracy." This Constitution was particularly important in the political development of Latin America and Canada—the British North America Act creating "a constitutional system more similar to

- that of the American Constitution than to the unwritten English Constitution." At one point he refers to the United States Constitution as the "political bible of the Americas." Mr. Jaffin probably exaggerates the importance of the American Constitution as he certainly exaggerates when he says that "the independence of the new republics of the Western Hemisphere was guaranteed by the Monroe Doctrine, which deterred the Holy Alliance from restoring the Old World regime in the New after the downfall of Napoleon." Mr. Jaffin's judgment does not always equal the learning sometimes exhibited in the foot-notes, which are in many respects the most interesting part of the pamphlet. [J. P. HUMPHREY]
- JOHNSON, ALICE M. *The mythical land of Buss* (Beaver, outfit 273, Dec., 1942, 43-7). By royal charter, the Hudson's Bay Company were made lords and proprietors of a North Atlantic island that no one could ever find.
- MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Les engagements pour l'Ouest* (B.R.H., XLVIII (10), oct., 1942, 307-9). Some additions to the lists published in the Quebec Archives Reports giving the names of traders and trappers employed in the western trade, particularly between 1670 and 1770.
- NUTE, GRACE LEE (ed.). *Documents relating to Northwest missions, 1815-27*. St. Paul, Minnesota: Published for the Clarence Walworth Alvord Memorial Commission by the Minnesota Historical Society. (Publications no. 1.) 1942. Pp. xx, 469. To be reviewed later.
- REID, ROBBIE L. *Who were the de Meurons?* (Beaver, outfit 273, Dec., 1942, 28-9). Describes the background of this famous company of adventurers, some of whom joined the Red River settlement, 1816-26.
- RICHARDSON, A. J. H. and COWAN, HELEN I. (eds.). *William Berczy's Williamsburg documents* (Rochester Historical Society, Publications, XX, 1942, Part ii, 141-265). The Berczy manuscripts presented as Part II of the Society's annual publication, throw much additional light upon an interesting period in the history of western New York and Upper Canada at the end of the eighteenth century. See p. 68.
- RIGNEY, EUGENE D. *Narrative of the Captain Brush expedition*. Chillicothe, Ohio: Dave Webb Private Press. 1942. Pamphlet. (25c.) An account of Captain Brush's expedition to Detroit during the War of 1812.
- SPARGO, JOHN. *Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Wait of Rogers' Rangers and the Continental Army, Freemason and pioneer Vermont settler*. [Place of publication not given; author is Grand Historian of the Grand Lodge of Vermont.] 1942. Pp. 26. The subject of this booklet, when a captain, went with Rogers from Montreal to Detroit in 1760. He was an officer in the American Revolutionary War and died on his return from an expedition into Canada in September, 1776. [J. J. TALMAN]
- TALMAN, J. J. (ed.). *Report of a missionary journey made by the Hon. and Rev. Charles James Stewart through Upper Canada in 1820*. London: The University of Western Ontario. 1942. Pp. 18 (mimeo.).
- WILLIAMSON, CHILTON. *New York's impact on the Canadian economy, prior to the completion of the Erie Canal* (New York history, XXIV (1), Jan., 1943, 24-38). Concludes that Canadians over-estimated the importance of the Canal, and underestimated the complexity of factors which in sum total made New York's economy the envy of Canadian and American rivals.
- (5) **The Dominion of Canada**
- ALBION, ROBERT GREENHALGH and POPE, JENNIE BARNES. *Sea lanes in wartime: The American experience, 1775-1942*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co. 1942. Pp. 367. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.
- ALLAN, GENEVIÈVE. *Nutrition—Canada's neglected ally* (Canadian forum, XXII (no. 264), Jan., 1943, 304-5). Stresses the importance of nutrition and the benefits that would result from national "Nutrition Services."

- ARÈS, RICHARD. *Dossier sur le pacte fédératif*. (Collection Frangipani.) Montréal: Aux Ateliers de l'Entr' Aide, 1855 est, rue Rachel. 1941. Pp. 102. (50c.) A study of the British North America Act.
- BARBEAU, VICTOR. *Verités aux Anglais* (Amérique français, II (2), oct., 1942, 1-6). A message from the President of "La Société des Écrivains Canadiens-Français" to his Anglo-Canadian colleagues.
- BARTH, LAURA F. and LEFFERTS, WALTER. *The Mohawk River and its valley—New York's great pathway*. Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Company. 1941. Pp. xii, 66. A public school textbook.
- BENOÎT, AUGUSTE. *Le façonnement canadien de notre génie français* (Les Carnets viatoriens, VII<sup>e</sup> année, avril, 1942, 97-110).
- BESTON, HENRY. *The St. Lawrence*. (Rivers of America series.) New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 1942. Pp. xiv, 274. (\$3.00)
- BIRON, HERVÉ. *Benjamin Sulte intime* (Culture, III (1), mars, 1942, 3-16). Intimate glimpses of the French-Canadian historian, 1841-1923, as revealed in his letters. A paper read before the Historical Society of Montreal in November, 1941, celebrating the centenary of Sulte's birth.
- BONNER, MARY GRAHAM. *Canada and her story*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1942. Pp. x, 180, vii. (\$2.00)
- BROGAN, D. W. *French Canada's outlook* (Spectator, May 1, 1942, 415-16).
- BROWN, E. K. *Mackenzie King of Canada* (Harper's, Jan., 1943). After a year of close association with the Prime Minister, the author concludes: "Canada would be a stronger nation in the crisis of today if Mackenzie King could and would leave upon his people the imprint of his real character."
- CAMERON, WILLIAM BLEASDELL. *Red man's captive* (Beaver, outfit 273, Dec., 1942, 48-51). The only white man to survive the Frog Lake Massacre of 1885 tells the tale of his harrowing experiences.
- Canada* (Journal of the Parliaments of the Empire, XXIII (2), April, 1942, 237-306). Deals with some of the proceedings of the Third Session of the nineteenth parliament which commenced on January 22, 1942.
- Canada*. II. *A Conservative revival* (Round table, no. 129, Dec., 1942, 79-82). "The Port Hope Conference was, therefore, the first outward sign of the rebirth of a party which has served Canada and the British Commonwealth in the past with great distinction."
- Canada, Dept. of Pensions and National Health, Nutrition Services. *The Canadian nutrition programme*. Ottawa: [The Dept.]. 1942. Pp. 18.
- Canada, Dept. of Public Printing and Stationery. *Annual report for the fiscal year ended March 31, 1942*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 27. (25c.)
- Canada, Dominion of. *Official report of debates, House of Commons, third session, nineteenth parliament, 6 George VI, 1942*. Vols. I-IV, 1942; being vols. CCXXIX, CCXXX, CCXXXI, CCXXXII for the period 1875-1942. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 1-4324.
- The Canadian almanac for 1943*. Toronto: The Copp Clark Co. Ltd. 1943. Pp. 730. (\$7.00) The 96th consecutive annual edition, a directory of general information relating to Canadian matters. Considerable new material is included.

- CHAMBERLIN, WILLIAM HENRY. *Canada today and tomorrow*. (Atlantic Monthly press book.) Boston: Little, Brown and Company [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart]. 1942. Pp. viii, 338. (\$3.75) To be reviewed later.
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- Canada's house divided (American mercury, LV (226), Oct., 1942, 471-9). Discusses the division between English and French Canadians on the subject of conscription for overseas service.
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- Canada's two voices (Christian century, LIX, May 13, 1942, 626-8).
- CLOKIE, H. McD. *Basic problems of the Canadian constitution* (Canadian bar review, XX (10), Dec., 1942, 817-40).
- COHEN, MAXWELL. *Federal powers are essence of Canada's problem* (Saturday night, Dec. 19, 1942, 14); *The post-war and government planning* (ibid., Dec. 26, 1942, 10). A series of articles discussing the seat of constitutional authority, if post-war plans are to be pushed through.
- CROSS, AUSTIN F. *Canada appoints five new ministers* (Canadian business, XVI (1), Jan., 1943, 34-7, 112, 114, 116). Biographies of the new ministers to Russia, China, Chile, Australia, and the exiled governments in London.
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- Three gentlemen from Quebec (Canadian business, XV (12), Dec., 1942, 52-4, 106, 108). Reports on the three new ministers in the Cabinet with the portfolios of National War Services, of Fisheries, and of Public Works, Major-General Louis R. LaFlèche, the Hon. Ernest Bertrand, and the Hon. Alphonse Fournier, respectively.
- CURRIE, A. W. *Canadian economic development*. Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd. 1942. Pp. vi, 386. (\$2.00) To be reviewed later.
- DAVIDSON, GEORGE F. *The future development of social security in Canada* (Canadian welfare, XVIII (7), Jan. 15, 1943, 2-5, 26-32).
- DAWSON, R. MACGREGOR. *Our bashful bureaucracy* (Winnipeg Free Press, Dec. 18, 1942, 11).
- FAUTEUX, ÆGIDIUS. *Honoré Gervais, 1864-1915*. Montreal: The author. 1942. Pp. 30. An able lawyer, later Magistrate in the Quebec Court of Appeal, M. Gervais sat for seven years in the Dominion House of Commons, lectured in international law at the University of Laval, and took a deep and generous interest in higher education in the province generally, particularly in the establishment of L'École des Hautes Etudes Commerciales in Montreal.
- FILION, GÉRARD. *Le paysan et ses institutions sociales* (L'Actualité économique, oct., 1942, 401-15). Social organizations of the French-Canadian habitant.
- FOURÉ, HÉLÈNE et FOURÉ, ROBERT. *Souvenirs français en Amérique*. Boston: Ginn and Company. 1940. Pp. viii, 362. A "textbook in French sufficiently simple and limited in vocabulary to be easily understood by high-school pupils or students in elementary classes at college."
- Freedom, security, opportunity, and the British partnership: Policy of the Progressive Conservative Party adopted at the National Convention held at Winnipeg, Dec. 9, 10, and 11, 1942*. Ottawa: Party Headquarters, 140 Wellington St. 1942. Pp. 14.
- GODBOUT, ARCHANGE. *Sociétés historiques de langue française* (Culture, III (1), mars, 1942, 67-89). Notes on the work of nineteen French-Canadian historical societies. The author concludes that lack of solidarity among themselves and lack of funds are their greatest handicaps.
- GROULX, LIONEL. *Notre mission française* (Les Carnets viatoriens, VII<sup>e</sup> année (1, 2), jan., avril, 1942, 77-80, 157-60). A speech given in Montreal, Nov. 9, 1941.
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- Vers l'indépendance politique: Une centenaire de liberté. (Collection "Témoignages" no. 1.) Montréal: Les Editions de l'Action Nationale. 1942. Pp. 35. (15c.) A brochure written for the anniversary of one hundred years of responsible government.

- HAM, EDWARD-B. *Déchéances canadiennes et la Nouvelle-Angleterre* (Bulletin de la Société historique franco-américaine, déc., 1941, 67-73). Warns of the many dangers threatening French survival in Quebec and, as a consequence, in New England also.
- List of members of parliament with their constituencies and post-office addresses, fourth session, nineteenth parliament (corrected to January, 1943)*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1943. Pp. 64.
- MACDONNELL, J. M. *Amateurs in politics* (Queen's quarterly, XLIX (4), winter, 1942-3, 385-93). The writer expresses his conviction that the spirit of the resolutions agreed upon at the Port Hope Conference met wide approval across the country, and that if that spirit is not maintained it will be a disaster for the Conservative party.
- MACKAY, L. A. *Freedom and authority* (Canadian forum, XXII (no. 264), Jan., 1943, 295-7). Presents a suggestion for more democratic government—a Senate drawn by lot from the whole body of adult citizens, with three-year terms, and service compulsory.
- MAHEUX, ARTHUR. *Problèmes canadiens dans les livres récents* (Le Canada français, XXIX (9), mai, 1942, 713-23). Reviews a number of recent French-Canadian books on various Canadian problems.
- MAHEUX, GEORGES. *L'évolution de l'entomologie économique au Canada français. II. Période de transition, 1892-1916* (Le Canada français, XXIX (10), juin, 1942, 845-50).
- MONTFETIT, ANDRÉ. *Les institutions sociales* (L'Actualité économique, jan., 1942, 201-27). Considers that the family, the school, and the parish are the three institutions which ensure the survival of French-Canadian culture.
- Ne perdons pas le nord* (Les pamphlets de Valdombre, mars-avril, 1942, 19-26). A spirited argument for voting "Yes" in the plebiscite held on April 27, 1942.
- O'LEARY, M. GRATTAN. *Can the Conservatives come back?* (Maclean's magazine, LV (23), Dec. 1, 1942, 11, 38-40).
- Le Problème canadien-français* (Le Quartier latin, April 4, 1941).
- POULIN, GONZALVE. *La famille canadienne aux prises avec les difficultés économiques*. Québec: Les Editions de Culture. 1942. Pp. 32. (15c.)
- The Pro and Con party* [editorial] (Canadian forum, XXII (no. 264), Jan., 1943, 293-4). "The Canadian Tory party changes its name as often and as easily as the Canadian Communist party changes its line."
- Queen's University, School of Commerce and Administration, Industrial Relations Section. *Trade union agreements in Canadian history*. (Bulletin no. 6.) Kingston: The University. 1942. Pp. 177. (\$2.00)
- RICHER, LEOPOLD. *Vers l'accomplissement de notre destin américain*. (Les Cahiers de l'École sociales, politiques, et économiques de Laval, no. 3.) Québec: Les Editions "Cap Diamant." 1941. Pp. 40. (15c.) The author believes that geography is triumphing over history, and that Canada's future will be as a North American rather than a British nation.
- ROY, LIONEL. *La montée du Canada vers l'indépendance*. Québec: Editions du "Cap Diamant." 1942.
- Royal Society of Canada. *Transactions of the Society, sections I and II* [Literature, history, archaeology, sociology, political economy, and allied subjects, in French and in English], *meeting of May, 1942*. Third series, vol. XXXVI. Ottawa: The Society. 1942. Pp. 108; 132. The articles from these sections were listed in the December, 1942, bibliography of the C.H.R.

STEPLER, D. H. *Family allowances for Canada?* (Behind the headlines series, III (2).) Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education, Canadian Institute of International Affairs. 1943. Pp. 32. (10c.) Studies systems of family allowances already in force, with a view to their desired establishment in Canada.

STEVENSON, J. A. *Topics of the day: Post-war markets and Canada's nutrition problem* (Dalhousie review, XXII (4), Jan, 1943, 493-8).

WEBSTER, J. C. (ed.). *William Francis Ganong—a memorial*. Saint John, N.B.: The New Brunswick Museum. 1942. Pp. 31. A small memorial volume, composed of statements from Dr. Ganong's family concerning his early life and from distinguished scholars concerning his work, together with lists of Dr. Ganong's original publications in the various fields of research in which he was distinguished. For thirty-eight years, until 1932, Dr. Ganong was a professor of botany at Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts, and built up one of the best Botanical Departments in the United States. A deep interest in the cartography of his native province of New Brunswick and of the entire North-east Coast of North America engaged him in research during vacations and leisure time; and he, together with Mr. G. R. F. Prowse of Winnipeg, became the outstanding authorities on the cartography of the North-east Coast. Their great accumulations of data together form the chief sources of information in this field in the world, and have been bequeathed to the New Brunswick Museum.

#### (6) The War of 1914-18

SIMSON, D. C. UNWIN. *The Vimy memorial* (Canadian geographical journal, XXXVI (1), Jan., 1943, 40-3). Proof seems fairly certain that Canada's war memorial in France still stands.

TUCKER, GILBERT NORMAN. *The career of H.M.C.S. "Rainbow"* (British Columbia historical quarterly, VII (1), Jan., 1943, 1-30). Though intended only as a training-ship when the Canadian naval service was created in 1910, the *Rainbow* nevertheless played her part in the first world war.

### V. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

#### (1) The Maritime Provinces

BORRETT, WILLIAM C. *Tales told under the old town clock*. Halifax: Imperial Publishing Company Ltd. 1942. Pp. xxiv, 196. Twenty-five tales taken from Nova Scotia's storied past.

DENNIS, CLARA. *Cape Breton over*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1942. Pp. xiv, 342. (\$3.50) See p. 74.

FAIRWEATHER, C. LILLIAN. *Pioneer houses of New Brunswick* (Canadian homes and gardens, XIX (12), Dec., 1942, 32-3, 48). Discusses styles of architecture followed in New Brunswick among the pioneers, the most favoured following the lines of American Colonial in New York and Boston, from which so many Loyalist pioneers came.

GRAY, F. W. *Fifty years of the Dominion Coal Company* (Dalhousie review, XXII (4), Jan., 1943, 461-75). A review of the part that the Company has played in the economy of Nova Scotia.

HUBERT, A. *Écoles acadiennes de Nouvelle-Écosse* (Relations, no. 14, fév., 1942, 44-6).

Nova Scotia, Economic Council. *Reports*. Vol. V. (nos. 36-47 inclusive), 1940. Vol. VI (nos. 48-61 inclusive), 1941. Halifax: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 72; 160.

STANLEY, GEORGE F. G. *The Royal Nova Scotia regiment, 1793-1802* (Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research, XXI (no. 84), winter, 1942, 157-70). To protect itself against filibustering attacks by Yankee raiders, activated by anti-British feelings stirred up by the success of the French Revolution, Nova Scotia raised and equipped a provincial force more permanent than the local militia, who were to serve only for home defence.

WARD, LEO R. *Nova Scotia: The land of co-operation*. New York: Sheed and Ward. 1942. Pp. xiv, 207. (\$2.50) To be reviewed later.

(2) The Province of Quebec

ANGERS, FRANÇOIS-ALBERT. *Les institutions économiques* (L'Actualité économique, fév., 1942, 329-83). An economic study of the province of Quebec.

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *L'île d'Orléans* (Queen's quarterly, XLIX (4), winter, 1942-3, 374-84). A study of the folklore, ancient customs, and architecture of the island, home of some of the earliest settlers in America.

BÉRUBÉ, LOUIS. *Coup d'œil sur les pêcheries de Québec*. Ste-Anne de la Pocatière: Ecole Supérieure des Pêcheries. 1941. Pp. 217.

BRUCHESI, JEAN. *Histoire économique de Montréal* (L'Actualité économique, nov., 1942, 1-25). A summing-up made on the tercentenary of Montreal.

*La Coordination des forces coopératives dans le Québec*. (Compte rendu des conférences et des débats du deuxième Congrès général des coopératives.) Québec: Conseil Supérieur de la Coopération. 1941. Pp. 259. The conference was held in Quebec in September, 1940.

L'École des Hautes Études Commerciales. *Notre milieu: Aperçu général sur la province de Québec*. Montréal: Les Éditions Fides, Centrale de la J.E.C., 430 est, rue Sherbrooke. 1942. Pp. 443. (\$1.50) An economic survey of the province. It is divided into three main parts: 1. Le Milieu physique; 2. Le Milieu économique; 3. Le Milieu humain.

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GUÉNETTE, RENÉ. *Moines d'Occident* (L'action universitaire, VIII (6), fév., 1942, 3-5, 15-16, 24). A description of the famous Trappist monastery at Oka, Quebec.

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- . *La traverse entre Québec et Lévis* (B.R.H., XLVIII (8), août, 1942, 225-35). Describes early communications across the river between the two cities.
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- (3) **The Province of Ontario**
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- (4) **The Prairie Provinces**
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- GARDINER, JAMES G. *The war jobs of the prairie west* (Country guide, Dec., 1942, 7, 53). "The outstanding agricultural war job of the prairie west is to produce more butter, eggs, hogs, sheep, and flax."
- LANE, S. H. *Analysis of factors influencing the progress of farmers in representative farm areas of Saskatchewan* (Economic annalist, XII (6), Dec., 1942, 84-7).

MACDONALD, R. D. *Canada's oil province* (Quarterly review of commerce, IX (4), autumn, 1942, 270-4). The development of Alberta's oil fields, particularly Turner Valley, is described.

RAMSAY, ALAN. *Winnipeg: City of contrast and beauty* (Canadian geographical journal, XXXVI (1), Jan., 1943, 44-7). "Winnipeg, long called the gateway to the West, is today . . . earning the title of 'supply route to the North'."

(5) **British Columbia and the North-west Coast**

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GURTON, E. H. *A peaceful invasion* (Canadian national magazine, XXIX (1), Jan., 1943, 8-9, 13-15). Describes the development of settlement in upper British Columbia along the railway line between Prince Rupert and the Alberta boundary.

HOWAY, F. W. and ELLIOTT, T. C. (eds.). *Vancouver's brig Chatham in the Columbia* (Oregon historical quarterly, XLIII (4), Dec., 1942, 318-27). An extract from the manuscript journal of Thomas Manby, the master of the *Chatham*, part of Vancouver's exploring squadron in the Columbia River in 1792.

KIRK, J. P. and PARNELL, C. *Campbell of the Yukon* (Beaver, outfit 273, Dec., 1942, 23-7). The concluding instalment of a series of three articles on the adventures of Chief Factor Robert Campbell, discoverer of the Pelly-Yukon River.

LAING, F. W. *Some pioneers of the cattle industry* (British Columbia historical quarterly, VI (4), Oct., 1942, 257-75). Although cattle had first been brought by the Spaniards to Nootka Sound, cattle-raising and cattle-driving as an industry did not begin until about 1860 and the following years, in response to the rush to the goldfields of the Cariboo.

L[AMB], W. K. (ed.). *Correspondence relating to the establishment of a naval base at Esquimalt, 1851-7* (British Columbia historical quarterly, VI(4), Oct., 1942, 277-96). Presents various letters and dispatches recording the circumstances under which the first buildings erected at Esquimalt for naval purposes were constructed in 1855.

LOMAX, ALFRED L. *Hawaii-Columbia River trade in early days* (Oregon historical quarterly, XLIII (4), Dec., 1942, 328-38). From its office in Honolulu, the Hudson's Bay Company directed the export and import trade of the Hawaiian Islands and the North-west Coast of North America; lumber and salt salmon were traded in return for the sugar and molasses of the Islands.

MOLONEY, MAMIE. *A Canadian mosaic: Vancouver's folk festival* (Canadian homes and gardens, XIX (12), Dec., 1942, 39, 41). For one week every year during the past ten, Vancouver's Folk Festival has brought together the best in art, music, dancing and handicrafts of the various national groups that make up the city's population.

REID, ROBIE L. *How one slave became free: An episode of the old days in Victoria* (British Columbia historical quarterly, VI (4), Oct., 1942, 251-6). Escaping as a stowaway on board a ship from the Territory of Washington in 1860, the slave was declared free by the Supreme Court of Vancouver Island, on the ground that no man could be held as a slave on British soil.

— and RAYMER, STEPHEN E. *The "Komagata Maru" and the Central Powers* (British Columbia historical quarterly, VI (4), Oct., 1942, 297-9). Mr.

Raymer's letter, here presented, shows the German connection with the coming of the *Komagata Maru* and her East Indian passengers to Vancouver, in 1914, as supplementary material to Mr. Reid's article, "The Inside Story of the *Komagata Maru*" (British Columbia historical quarterly, V (1), Jan., 1941, 1-23).

(6) **North-west Territories, Labrador, and the Arctic Regions**

LIPS, JULIUS E. *Tents in the wilderness*. Philadelphia and New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co. 1942. Pp. 297. (\$2.75) A portrayal of the ordinary daily life of the Indians of the Labrador Peninsula.

PINKERTON, KATHRENE. *Fox Island*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company [Toronto: George J. McLeod Ltd.]. 1942. Pp. 195. (\$2.50) A children's book about fur-farming in the far north.

United States, War Department, Technical Manual, No. 1-240. *Arctic manual*, April 1, 1942. Washington: Supt. of Govt. Documents. 1942. Pp. 74.

YOUNG, EWART. *War puts Labrador on map* (Saturday night, Jan. 9, 1943, 6). Labrador's economy has been greatly changed by the friendly invasion of Canadian and American armed forces.

(7) **Newfoundland**

GARDNER, GÉRARD. *Problèmes des pêcheries à Terre-Neuve* (L'Actualité économique, oct., 1942, 430-43). The war has lessened the importance of the problems of the fisheries, but they will regain their past gravity after the war.

VI. **GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS**

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Canada, Dominion of. *First report of the Unemployment Insurance Commission for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1942*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 28. (10c.)

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CREED, GEORGE E. *Future housing in Canada* (Food for thought, III (5), Jan., 1943, 9-11). Postulates the idea that housing should be treated as a public enterprise, and that new housing should be financed with public funds nationally created and issued through the Bank of Canada at the actual cost of handling.

*Salaries control in Canada: The wartime salaries order, P.C. 1549*. Ottawa: Robert B. Verner, Verner Bureau, 205 The Plaza Building. 1942. Pp. 36 (mimeo.). (\$5.00) A consolidation of and guide to wartime salaries control, Order in Council P.C. 1549, and amendments.

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## (2) Agriculture

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- BOIS, HENRI-C. *Les coopératives agricoles* (L'Actualité économique, nov., 1942, 26-43). A study of various co-operative movements in Quebec.
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- CORBETT, E. A. *Agriculture looks to the future* (Food for thought, III (4), Dec., 1942, 7-11). This article is reprinted from the *Round Table*, September, 1942.
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- FILION, GÉRARD. *Notions élémentaires de coopération agricole*. Montréal: Service de Librairie de l'U.C.C., 515, avenue Viger. 1940. Pp. 124. (15c.)
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- HOPE, E. C. *The post-war situation and the future of agriculture in western Canada* (C.S.T.A. rev., XXXV, no. 35, 5-11, 31). A paper read before the Canadian Society of Agricultural Economists at Olds, Alberta, June 18-19, 1942, at its annual meeting.
- LETOURNEAU, FIRMIN. *La nouvelle Beauce agricole* (Relations, no. 23, nov., 1942, 282-5; *Vers une nouvelle Beauce agricole* (*ibid.*, no. 25, jan., 1943, 3-6).
- *La politique agricole* (L'Actualité économique, août-sept., 1942, 338-83). The relation between agriculture and the state.
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### (3) Immigration, Emigration, Colonization, Population, and Population Groups

ALBRIGHT, W. D. *An economic pioneer land settlement policy* (C.S.T.A. rev., no. 35, Dec., 1942, 13-18). A paper delivered before the Soils Group of the Canadian Society of Technical Agriculturists at Olds, Alberta, June 18-19, 1942.

GAGNÉ, EUGÈNE. *Les Madelinots en colonie* (Le Canada français, XXIX (9), mai, 1942, 724-30). Describes the new colony made up of Madeleine Islanders who have settled on the island of Népawa in Lake Abitibi.

— *Les pêcheurs Madelinots en pays de colonisation* (Le Canada français, XXX (4), déc., 1942, 265-8). Tells of the successful transplanting of the poverty-stricken fishermen from the Madeleine Islands to new colonizing territory in Abitibi and northern Quebec.

MINVILLE, ESDRAS. *La colonisation* (L'Actualité économique, mai, 1942, 123-94). A study of past and present colonizing activity in the province of Quebec.

TANGHE, RAYMOND. *La population* (L'Actualité économique, déc., 1942, 163-80). A study of population, past and present, in the city of Montreal.

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### (4) Geography

CORMINBEUF, FERNAND. *Esquisse agrologique de la province de Québec* (L'Actualité économique, fév., 1942, 301-16).

DAGENAIS, PIERRE. *Le climat de la province de Québec* (L'Actualité économique, mai, 1942, 101-22).

— *Le milieu physique* (L'Actualité économique, déc., 1942, 101-62). A study of the economic factors which have made Montreal the city it is.

FONTAINE, CHARLES-A. *Les sols du Québec* (L'Actualité économique, mars, 1942, 401-42).

MAUFFETTE, PIERRE. *Aperçu géologique des Laurentides de la région de Montréal* (Revue trimestrielle canadienne, 28ème année, no. 109, mars, 1942, 63-99).

SAINT-PIERRE, ARTHUR. *Quelques aspects de la démographie franco-américaine* (L'action universitaire, IX(3), nov., 1942, 7-10).

### (5) Transportation and Communication

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. *Annual report for fiscal year ended March 31, 1942*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1943. Pp. 27.

DRAPER, W. N. *Early trails and roads in the lower Fraser Valley* (British Columbia historical quarterly, VII (1), Jan., 1943, 49-56).

NADEAU, JEAN-MARIE. *La canalisation du Saint-Laurent* (L'Actualité économique, avril, 1942, 31-56).

TOLBRIDGE, R. B. *C.B.C. and the government* (Canadian forum, XXII (no. 264), Jan., 1943, 299-301). The author's conclusion as to the political independence of the C.B.C. is that "it is simply that the onus rests squarely on the shoulders of the board of governors."

*Dollar diplomacy in the C.B.C.* (Canadian forum, XXII (263), Dec., 1942, 270-2, 274). Criticizes the spending of public funds by the C.B.C.

WALLACE, DON. *Canada's position on the world's aerial crossroads* (Canadian business, XV (12), Dec., 1942, 90, 92, 94). In post-war days Canada will hold a strategic place on the aerial map of the world.

WINTHER, OSCAR OSBURN. *The place of transportation in the early history of the Pacific Northwest* (Pacific historical review, XI (4), Dec., 1942, 383-96). Traces the significant interrelationships between transportation and the political, economic, and social history of the Pacific Northwest.

## VII. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

*L'Action universitaire.* The September, 1942, issue is devoted to the opening of the new buildings of the University of Montreal. There are articles by Mgr O. MAURALT, Dr. F. CYRIL JAMES, Mgr EMILE CHARTIER, and many others.

Canadian Social Science Research Council. *Correspondence with the Prime Minister concerning liberal arts courses in Canadian universities.* Ottawa: The Council, 166 Marlborough Avenue. January, 1943. Pp. 11.

CHAMBERLAIN, FRANK. *Education without tears* (Food for thought, III (4), Dec., 1942, 14-15). "Education by radio, without tears, has made its first baby steps in Canada . . . There is a long way to go yet. National cohesion and direction are needed."

DANLOUX-DUMESNILS, MAURICE. *Esquisse géologique de l'Amérique du Nord* (Revue trimestrielle canadienne, 28ème année, no. 111, sept., 1942, 267-93).

*L'Enseignement secondaire au Canada.* (Tables générales des XXVI premières années, 1915-41.) Quebec: Laval University. May, 1942. Pp. 208. (\$1.00)

HAMEL, MARIE. *La Fréquentation scolaire obligatoire dans le Québec* (Canadian welfare, XVIII (7), Jan. 15, 1943, 12-14).

MAHEUX, ARTHUR. *Vues sur l'éducation nationale* (Le Canada français, XXIX (10), juin, 1942, 805-17). The author analyses French-Canadian education, pointing out its good points and its weaknesses.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Mgr Plessis et son premier maître d'école* (B.R.H., XLVIII (9), sept., 1942, 281-3). Notes on M. Lucette, schoolmaster in the primary school in Montreal between 1770 and 1800.

MORISSEAU, HENRI. *Un apôtre canadien: Le Père Arthur Guertin, Missionnaire Oblat de Marie-Immaculée, 1868-1932.* Ottawa: Les Editions de l'Université d'Ottawa. 1942. Pp. 373. Teacher at the University at Ottawa, and priest in the parish of Notre-Dame-de-Graces in Hull, Father Guertin was beloved by all.

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NORMANDIN, RODRIGUE. *Responsabilité de nos éducateurs* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, XII (2), avril-juin, 1942, 139-52).

PAGÉ, JOSEPH. *Les Réformes de l'enseignement primaire.* (Rapport de l'Enquête de l'Alliance Catholique des professeurs de Montréal.) Montréal: 3700, avenue Calixa-Lavallée. 1942.

*Propos scolaires . . . : Conférences prononcées lors des Congrès d'éducation de Hull, 1939-1942.* Hull: Les Éditions "L'Eclair." 1942. Pp. 316.

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### VIII. RELIGIOUS HISTORY

GODBOUT, ARCHANGE. *La néophyte Ahuntsic* (B.R.H., XLVIII (5), mai, 1942, 129-37). An examination of the facts identifying the young Huron Christian, Ahuntsic, companion of Father Nicholas Viel, and murdered with him in 1625.

GOODFELLOW, J. C. *John Hall: Pioneer Presbyterian in British Columbia* (British Columbia historical quarterly, VII (1), Jan., 1943, 31-48). Presbyterianism in British Columbia dates back to 1861, with the arrival of the Reverend John Hall, first Presbyterian minister west of Manitoba.

LANCOT, GUSTAVE. *Situation politique de l'église canadienne. I. Servitudes de l'Eglise sous le régime français.* Préface par le R. P. GEORGES SIMARD. (Publication de la Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique.) Montreal: G. Ducharme. 1942. Pp. 26. (25c.)

MCGILLIVRAY, J. M. (comp.). *The centenary, St. Andrew's Presbyterian church, Sarnia, Ontario, 1841-1941.* Pp. 64. Earlier chapters are based upon a history of this church written by a previous minister, the Rev. J. J. Paterson, and published in 1918. Mr. McGillivray is the present pastor of the church. [J. J. TALMAN]

*Le père Jean Dolbeau, récollet, missionnaire en Nouvelle-France, 1615-20. I. Vie. II. Lettres spirituelles* (Chronique franciscaine, déc., 1941, 169-236).

POULIOT, LÉON. *Etude sur les Relations des Jésuites de la Nouvelle France (1632-1672).* Montréal. Pp. 320.

— *La Réaction catholique de Montréal, 1840-1.* Montréal: Imprimerie du Messager, 4239 rue de Bordeaux. 1942. Pp. 119. (50c.)

— *Le retour des Jésuites au Canada (1842)* (B.R.H., XLVIII (7), juillet, 1942, 193-201).

SHAW, JAMES GERARD. *Brother Sagard's Huronian triangle* (Culture, III (1), mars, 1942, 17-30). This paper is part of a larger study, reconstructing the map of Old Huronia.

### IX. GENEALOGY

DERÔME, GASTON. *La famille Vanchestein, des Comtés Laprairie-Napierville* (B.R.H., XLIX (1), jan., 1943, 14-17). This family is descended from Charles Weisenthin, one of the German soldiers fighting for the British in the Revolutionary War, who, when disbanded, decided to settle in Canada.

*La famille Crevier* (B.R.H., XLVIII (10), oct., 1942, 309-14).

PARENT, ROGER D. *Clément Lerigé de la Plante et sa descendance: Généalogie d'une famille canadienne.* Montreal: G. Ducharme. 1942. Pp. 28. (50c.)

— *Clément Lerigé, Sieur de la Plante: Son Origine et sa famille en France.* Montreal: G. Ducharme. 1942. Pp. 16. (50c.)

ROY, LÉON. *La première canadienne-française* (B.R.H., XLVIII (7), juillet, 1942, 205-8). Believes that Hélène Desportes, not Eustache Martin, as formerly believed, was the first child of French parents to be born in Canada, in 1620.

T., E. *Sainte-Colombe en Caux, pays d'origine de Charles Diel* (B.R.H., XLVIII (11), nov., 1942, 345-51). All the families "Velle" in Canada and the United States are descended from Charles Diel, whose parents came from the parish of Sainte-Colombe, near Rouen.



## X. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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See also the bibliographies published in each quarterly issue of the Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, and Culture.

## XI. ART AND LITERATURE

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ANSELME, PÈRE and DANIEL, FRÈRE. *Chansons d'Acadie* (first series). Montréal: La Réparation, Pte.-aux-Trembles. 1942. Pp. 28. A collection of folksongs, with music given.

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Côté, sculpteur* (Le Canada français, XXX (2), oct., 1942, 94-103). Describes the life and work of Jean-Baptiste Côté, wood carver and sculptor, 1834-1907.

\_\_\_\_\_ *French-Canadian folk-songs* (Musical quarterly, Jan., 1943, 122-37).

\_\_\_\_\_ *Indian-trade silver* (Beaver, outfit 273, Dec., 1942, 10-14). Describes some of the silver ornaments used as payment to the Indians in the fur trade.

\_\_\_\_\_ *Nos Arts populaires* (Le Canada français, Sept., 1942, 5-15).

\_\_\_\_\_ *Les Rêves des chasseurs*. Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin. 1943.

Pp. 117.

BATESON, NORA. *Libraries for today and tomorrow* (Food for thought, III (5), Jan., 1943, 12-19). Points the way to possible future developments in rural library service.

Canada, Dept. of Mines and Resources, Mines and Geology Branch. *The National Air Photographic Library of Canada* (Geographical journal, XCIX (5, 6), May-June, 1942, 257-60). Air surveys have constituted the basic mapping method in Canada, since their initiation twenty years ago; and the National Air Photographic Library is the central repository in which copies of all air photographs taken for any branch of the federal government are filed and made available for the use of other branches and the public.

DESROCHERS, ALFRED. *La poésie au Canada français* (Culture, III (2), juin, 1942, 155-60).

FALARDEAU, EMILE. *Artistes et artisans du Canada*. Deuxième série. *Boucher*. Montréal: G. Ducharme. 1942. Pp. 95. (50c.) Pays tribute to Charles Alexis Boucher, 1808-85, portrait painter, cabinet maker, and decorator.

HÉBERT, HENRI. *Donnons-nous à l'Art dans notre province la place à laquelle il a droit?* (Culture, III (2), juin, 1942, 145-8).

JACKSON, A. Y. *Banting as an artist*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1943. Pp. 37. (75c.) Describes Sir Frederick Banting as an artist, with seventeen reproductions of Sir Frederick's paintings and drawings, together with a catalogue of all his known work.

LAHEY, GERALD F. *Poetry in Canada* (Culture, III (2), juin, 1942, 161-4). Poetry in Canada is finding its voice, but its full realization depends on the proper solution of many problems.

MACMILLAN, SIR ERNEST. *Musical composition in Canada* (Culture, III (2), juin, 1942, 149-54). "We cannot by taking thought produce a national music; all we can do is to create an atmosphere in which a strong musical personality can express itself creatively and naturally."

- MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *L'ameublement à Montréal aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (B.R.H., XLVIII (7), juillet, 1942, 202-5). Continues the lists in the February and March issues of common articles of furniture and household utensils.
- *Le costume des voyageurs et des coureurs de bois* (B.R.H., XLVIII(8), août, 1942, 235-40). No hard and fast rule can be laid down about such clothing; it was as varied as the voyageurs themselves.
- *Les tabatières de nos grands parents* (B.R.H., XLIX (1), jan., 1943, 10-13). Observations on the use of snuff-boxes in Canada.
- MORISSET, GÉRARD. *Coup d'œil sur les arts en Nouvelle-France*. Québec: Charrier et Dugal. 1941. Pp. 192.
- *François Ravaloyé*. Québec: Chez l'auteur. 1942. Pp. 30. The first of a series of biographies of the best French-Canadian artists.
- PAPINEAU-COUTURE, JEAN. *Que sera la musique canadienne?* (Amérique française, II (2), oct., 1942, 24-6). The author tries to foresee what will be the characteristics of Canadian music, when it develops.
- PARIZEAU, MARCEL. *Peinture canadienne d'aujourd'hui* (Amérique française, II (2), oct., 1942, 8-18).
- RANDALL, WALTER H. *Genthon the fiddler* (Beaver, outfit 273, Dec., 1942, 15-17). Describes the life of Frederick Genthon, 1857-1941, Hudson Bay trader, whose fiddling made him famous at Fort Garry and throughout the entire West, and an authority upon such scores as the "Red River Jig."
- SYLVESTRE, GUY (ed.). *Anthologie de la poésie canadienne d'expression française*. With an introduction by the Editor. Montréal: Editions Bernard Valiquette. 1943. Pp. 141. (\$1.00)

## XII. ETHNOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY, AND ARCHAEOLOGY

(Contributed annually since 1925 by Professor T. F. McIlwraith.)

- BAILEY, ALFRED G. *The Indian problem in early Canada* (America indigena, II (3), julio, 1942, 35-9). A scholarly study of some of the stresses and strains of contact in the seventeenth century between white and Indian in eastern Canada; such lessons drawn from the past are of great value in avoiding comparable errors at the present time.
- BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Asiatic survivals in Indian songs* (Scientific monthly, LIV (4), April, 1942, 303-7). Indian songs recorded in northern British Columbia show specific resemblances to Buddhist chants of considerable antiquity which are still used in China. Musical comparisons of this kind give concrete examples of cultural interactions between Asia and America.
- *La croix de Cartier* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, XI (4), Oct.-Dec., 1941, 440-3). Careful reading of Cartier's journal indicates that the spot on the Gaspé peninsula at which he landed and erected a cross was at Penouille; this conclusion is strengthened by the discovery of Iroquoian artifacts in the vicinity.
- *The hooked rug—its origin* (Royal Society of Canada, Transactions, XXXVI, May, 1942, sec. 2, 25-32). The making of hooked rugs is a craft which, today, centres in the St. Lawrence valley, principally below Quebec. Although the history of the industry is obscure, both the designs and the technical processes suggest either a French origin, or at least an adaptation and development in Quebec.
- *Indian-trade silver* (Beaver, outfit 273, Dec., 1942, 10-14). An illustrated description of the silver ornaments made for trade with the Indians. About 1700 the industry centred in Philadelphia; but, later on, silversmiths of Montreal and Quebec contributed the bulk of the silver ornaments that were used in what is now Ontario.
- *Totem poles: A by-product of the fur trade* (Scientific monthly, LV (6), Dec., 1942, 507-14). The erection of totem-poles is shown to be a relatively recent development on the North-west Coast, greatly, though unwittingly, stimulated by the white man.

- BARNETT, H. G. *Applied anthropology in 1860* (Applied anthropology, I (3), April-June, 1942, 19-32). A study of the methods of, and results achieved by, William Duncan, veteran missionary to the Tsimshian Indians. In 1857 he went to Fort Simpson, and five years later led a group of followers to a new settlement at Metlakatla. He utilized his knowledge of the customs of his people, a policy scarcely thought of at that period.
- *Invention and cultural change* (American anthropologist, XLIV (1), Jan.-March, 1942, 14-30). A study of the processes of invention and cultural acceptance, illustrated with specific references to the Tsimshian of northern British Columbia.
- *Personal conflicts and social change* (Social forces, XX, Dec., 1941, 160-71). A study of individual personality conflicts among the Tsimshian, particularly with reference to the acceptance of cultural innovations from the white man.
- *The southern extent of totem pole carving* (Pacific northwest quarterly, XXXIII (4), Oct., 1942, 379-89). The centre of the distribution of totem-poles was on the Queen Charlotte Islands and the mainland opposite; in a southerly direction true totem-poles were not found south of the Comox of northern Vancouver Island.
- BARROW, FRANCIS J. *Petroglyphs and pictographs on the British Columbia coast* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIV (2), Feb., 1942, 94-101). Photographs of a number of interesting rock carvings and paintings on the British Columbia coast, with a brief popular description.
- BEARDSLEY, GRETCHEN. *Notes on Cree medicines, based on a collection made by I. Cowie in 1892* (Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters for 1941, XXVII, 1942, 483-96). A number of Cree medicinal plants, collected in 1892, have been identified; they are recorded with their method of use by the Indians. A general account of Cree medical practices is included.
- BEATTY, WILLARD W. *La educacion de los Indios en los Estados Unidos*. Washington: Department of the Interior for the National Indian Institute. 1942. Pp. 33 (plano.). A well illustrated and valuable summary of modern educational problems and methods among the Indians of the United States.
- BROWER, CHARLES D., in collaboration with PHILIP J. FARRELLY and LYMAN ANSON. *Fifty years below zero: A lifetime of adventure in the far north*. New York: Dodd Mead and Co. [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart]. 1942. Pp. x, 310. Contains useful descriptions of the Alaskan Eskimo, and especially of their whaling activities. See also C.H.R., XXIII, Dec., 1942, 405.
- BURGESS, J. A. *The Montagnais hunter* (Beaver, outfit 273, Sept., 1942, 43-5). A brief general description, written in amusing style, of life among the Montagnais of northern Quebec.
- *Tribal laws of the woodlands* (Beaver, outfit 272, March, 1942, 18-21). Observations on customary behaviour, and its enforcement, among the Montagnais-Naskapi Indians of northern Quebec.
- CAMERON, WILLIAM BLEASDELL. *Red man's captive* (Beaver, outfit 273, Dec., 1942, 48-51). A survivor's description of the Frog Lake massacre of 1885.
- CARPENTER, EDMUND. *Iroquoian figurines* (American antiquity, VIII (1), July, 1942, 105-13). Carved bone figurines, which occur fairly commonly in Indian sites in western New York and southern Ontario, are probably post-Columbian.
- COBURN, KATHLEEN. *The case of Mr. Ojibway* (Canadian forum, XXII (261), Oct., 1942, 215-17). Observations, in the form of an informal interview, on the economic and cultural problems of the Ojibwa of the Georgian Bay area.
- COHEN, FELIX S. *Derecho indigena: Contribucion Espanola al sistema legal de los Estados Unidos*. Washington: Department of the Interior for the National Indian Institute. 1942. Pp. 20 (plano.). A study of the influence of Spanish laws upon regulations affecting the American Indian.

- COLLIER, JOHN. *The Indian in a wartime nation* (Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXXXIII, Sept., 1942, 29-35). Indians in the United States have contributed enthusiastically to the war effort, both in military and in civilian activities. The changing conditions are affecting their activities profoundly, hence their problems of post-war readjustment will be correspondingly acute. A thoughtful article, of considerable significance to Canada.
- COLLISON, H. A. *The oolachan fishery* (British Columbia historical quarterly, V (1), Jan., 1941, 25-31). A brief description of oolachan fishing and of its importance to the Indians of British Columbia in the days before European contact.
- COPLAND, ALFRED. *Consider the Eskimo* (Beaver, outfit 272, March, 1942, 4-10). A brief general description of life among the Eskimo; fourteen excellent photographs.
- DENSMORE, FRANCES. *The study of Indian music* (Annual report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1941, 527-50, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1942). A description of the methods used in collecting and recording Indian music, Miss Densmore's life-work.
- DEVINE, E. J. *Old Fort Ste. Marie*. (Third revised edition.) Midland, Ont.: The Martyrs' Shrine. 1942. Pp. 56. In addition to a description of the labours of the Jesuits among the Huron Indians in the seventeenth century, and particularly of the history of Fort Ste. Marie, this third revised edition contains a brief section on the archaeological excavations of the site by Kenneth E. Kidd who was in charge of the work.
- DOERING, JOHN FREDERICK, and DOERING, EILEEN ELITA. *Some western Ontario folk beliefs and practices* (Journal of American folk-lore, LIV (213-14), July-Dec., 1941, 197). Some popular beliefs from the Pennsylvania-Dutch areas of south-western Ontario.
- DOUGLAS, FREDERIC H. *Birchbark and the Indian*. (Denver Art Museum, Leaflet 102.) Denver. Dec., 1941. Pp. 5-8.
- *Main types of Indian metal jewelry*. (Denver Art Museum, Leaflet 104.) Denver. Dec., 1941. Pp. 13-16.
- *Porcupine quillwork*. (Denver Art Museum, Leaflet 103.) Denver. Dec., 1941. Pp. 9-12.
- Three admirably prepared leaflets, each well illustrated and with adequate bibliography. The first describes articles made of birch-bark, and their decoration; the second deals with various types of silver-work, a post-European craft; and the third explains the techniques of embroidery with porcupine quills.
- FARIS, JOHN T. *Pioneer printing among the Indians of Canada* (Inland printer, Nov., 1942, 60). Tells the story of James Evans, missionary at Norway House, who syllabified the Cree language and manufactured his own printing press from crude materials.
- FENTON, WILLIAM N. *Contacts between Iroquois herbalism and colonial medicine* (Annual report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1941, 503-26, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1942). A scholarly study of the extent to which Iroquois herbal remedies were adopted by Europeans, and European medicines were taken over by the Iroquois.
- *Songs from the Iroquois Longhouse: Program notes for an album of American music from the Eastern woodlands*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution (publication 3691). 1942. Pp. 34, 9 plates. A description of Iroquois songs and their significance and use in socio-religious rituals. Many texts are included, as well as scholarly observations on the history of various types of song. This volume is in the nature of a guide to a number of records of Iroquois songs collected by the author for the Music Division of the Library of Congress.
- FINNIE, RICHARD. *Canada moves north*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company. 1942. Pp. xii, 227. A popular account of the northward spread of civilization, with interesting observations on Indians and Eskimo. See C.H.R., XXI, Dec., 1942, 402.

- FORD, CLELLAN. *Smoke from their fires: The life of a Kwakiutl chief*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1941. Pp. xiv, 248. (\$3.00) This is the intimate story of his life as related by a Kwakiutl Indian of Vancouver Island. It is a fascinating account of culture change, covering the period from 1870 to 1940.
- GAMIO, MANUEL. *Consideraciones sobre el problema indígena en América* (America indigena, II (2), abril, 1942, 17-23). An important study by a leading Mexican anthropologist of some of the basic problems facing the American Indian today. It is difficult to define who are Indians on biological or linguistic grounds alone, but they are recognizable culturally, and there is room for great improvement, particularly in regard to economic and food conditions.
- GARBER, CLARK M. *Stories and legends of the Bering Strait Eskimos*. Boston: Christopher Publishing House. N.d. Pp. 260, 37 plates. A collection of Eskimo tales from Cape Prince of Wales, Alaska, recorded in popular form.
- GREENMAN, E. F. *Further excavations in Manitoulin District, Ontario* (Man, XVII, Sept.-Oct., 1942, 119). A preliminary sketch of archaeological work at sites, some of considerable geological antiquity, near Killarney, Ontario.
- GUNTHER, ERNA. *Indian life of the Pacific northwest* (The Pacific Northwest, edited by OTIS W. FREEMAN and HOWARD H. MARTIN, New York, John Wiley & Sons, London, Chapman and Hall, 1942, chap. 1, 3-13). A general summary of Indian life in the Pacific North-west, including both coastal and plateau tribes.
- *Reminiscences of a whaler's wife* (Pacific northwest quarterly, XXXIII (1), Jan., 1942, 65-9). In the days when whaling was carried on by some of the Indian tribes of the west coast of Vancouver Island and northwestern Washington, stringent taboos were observed not only by the actual whalers, but by their wives.
- HALLOWELL, A. IRVING. *Acculturation processes and personality changes as indicated by the Rorschach technique* (Rorschach research exchange, VI (2), April, 1942, 42-50). The application of the Rorschach technique to two groups of Saulteaux from the Manitoba-Ontario border gives an accurate measure of changes in personality according to the extent of cultural modification.
- *The role of conjuring in Saulteaux society*. (Publications of the Philadelphia Anthropological Society, II.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1942. Pp. xiv, 96. (\$1.25) What is commonly termed "conjuring" is a method of invocation widely practised by the Ojibwa and other Algonkians; it has been known and aspects of it described from the time of the *Jesuit Relations* onwards. In brief, it consists of the shaman entering a small, temporary hut to which he summons supernatural beings who cause the structure to shake violently, to the accompaniment of strange noises. Though widely known and frequently referred to, the details have never been satisfactorily explained, largely on account of the secrecy with which the rite is surrounded. This volume gives a thorough description of the practice, including not only the technique, but the training of the practitioner and the significance of the ceremony socially and religiously. It is the result of years of study by a competent anthropologist among the Saulteaux of the Berens River on the Ontario-Manitoba border.
- *The social function of anxiety in a primitive society* (American sociological review, VI (6), Dec., 1941, 869-81). Among the Saulteaux (western Ojibwa) of the Ontario-Manitoba border, anxiety is shown under certain well-defined conditions in accordance with the cultural and social life of the people.
- *Some psychological aspects of measurement among the Saulteaux* (American anthropologist, XLIV (1), Jan.-March, 1942, 62-77). Studies among the Saulteaux of the Manitoba-Ontario border show that their concepts of, and attitudes towards, measurements are controlled by their cultural pattern.
- HARPER, ALLAN G., COLLIER, JOHN, and McCASKILL, JOSEPH C. *Los Indios de los Estados Unidos*. Washington: Department of the Interior for the National Indian Institute. 1942. Pp. 73 (plano.). A valuable summary of conditions among the varying Indian groups of the United States, with emphasis upon modern problems and upon the manner in which the administration seeks to solve them.

HARRINGTON, M. R. *Indian tribes of the Plains*, II, III, IV (Masterkey, XV (5, 6), XVI (1), 1941-2, 168-77, 213-20, 5-15). General, semi-popular summaries of tribes of the Plains.

HATT, MARCELLE R. *Basketry of the North American Indian*. Bloomfield Hills, Michigan: Cranbrook Institute of Science. 1941. Pp. 11.

[HAWKES, ERNEST WILLIAM.] *Aithukaguk* (Almanach de l'Action Sociale Catholique, Québec, 1942, 21-5). A description of the January festival of the Eskimo, "La Fête de la Demande," which they celebrate in hopes of a successful year's hunting.

HERRICK, JOHN. *La agricultura de los Indios en los Estados Unidos*. Washington: Department of the Interior. 1942. Pp. 32 (plano.). A general description of Indian agriculture in the United States and Alaska, including the effects of modern economic problems.

HEWES, GORDON W. *The Ainu double foreshaft toggle harpoon and western North America* (Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences, XXXII (4), April, 1942, 93-104). A careful comparison of Ainu (aborigines of Japan) harpoons with those of the North-west Coast shows many striking resemblances which are important clues in determining prehistoric culture contacts between the two continents.

HIBBEN, F. C. *Archaeological aspects of the Alaska muck deposits* (New Mexico anthropologist, V (4), Oct.-Nov.-Dec., 1941, 151-7). Archaeological explorations in the muck of Alaskan rivers revealed one Yuma point *in situ*, but failed to throw light on the time of early Indian movement to the New World.

HONIGSHEIM, PAUL. *The problem of diffusion and parallel evolution with special reference to American Indians* (Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters for 1941, XXVII, 1942, 515-24). A well documented study of the theories, largely of European scholars, concerning cultural interactions between the Old World and the New.

HOWAY, F. W. *The first use of sail by the Indians of the northwest coast* (American Neptune, I, Oct., 1941, 374-80). A study, based on historical documents, of the use of sails by the Indians of the North-west Coast.

*The introduction of intoxicating liquors amongst the Indians of the north-west coast* (British Columbia historical quarterly, VI (3), July, 1942, 157-69). A scholarly account of the beginnings of the trade in liquor to the Indians of British Columbia, among whom intoxicants were unknown at the time of European contact. Strong drink was first used in friendly greeting, as a concomitant of trade, but by about 1800 the maritime traders were including it among their wares and the Indians had developed a strong liking for it.

*The origin of the Chinook jargon* (British Columbia historical quarterly, VI (4), Oct., 1942, 225-50). In a scholarly and convincing manner, the author proves that the Chinook jargon, the *lingua franca* which was formerly so important and so wide-spread on the North-west Coast, developed in post-European times as a result of contact by maritime fur-traders with Indians of various tribes. Arguments in favour of its pre-European origin, as advanced by Fee (cited C.H.R., XXIII, March, 1942, 113) are strongly refuted.

HRDLÍČKA, ALEŠ. *Catalog of human crania in the United States National Museum collections: Eskimo in general*. (Proceedings of the United States National Museum, XCI, 169-429.) Washington: Smithsonian Institution. 1942. A tremendous work, embodying detailed measurements of 2,100 adult and 80 juvenile Eskimo skulls from sites extending from Greenland to Alaska, together with a summary of Eskimo physical characteristics as a whole.

*Crania of Siberia* (American journal of physical anthropology, XXIX (4), Dec., 1942, 435-81). A detailed study of the physical anthropology of Siberia, showing the relationship of various types found there to American Indian groups.

*The Eskimo child* (Annual report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1941, 557-62, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1942). A general description of the development of Alaskan Eskimo children, with excellent photographs.

- HUMPHREY, NORMAN B. *The mock battle greeting* (Journal of American folk-lore, LIV (213-14), July-Dec., 1941, 186-90). To greet an honoured European visitor with the firing of guns was a form of salutation experienced by the French in the Great Lakes region in the seventeenth century; a similar practice prevailed in the southwest. Both the origin and the significance of the custom are obscure.
- HUTCHISON, ISOBEL WYLIE. *The Aleutian Islands* (Geographical magazine, XV (5), Sept., 1942, 214-21). A popular account, with photographs, of the islands and their native inhabitants.
- Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia. *Boletín bibliográfico de antropología americana*, V (1-2-3), enero-diciembre, 1941. Mexico: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia. 1942. Pp. 404. This annual publication includes bibliographies on selected aspects of American anthropology, reviews of books, and extensive listings of journal material.
- INVERARITY, ROBERT BRUCE. *Movable masks and figures of the North Pacific Coast Indians*. Bloomfield Hills, Michigan: Cranbrook Institute of Science. 1941. Pp. 3, 18 coloured plates. A portfolio of eighteen coloured plates, each a reproduction of a water colour painting by Inverarity of a North-west Coast mask. The introduction explains the cultural significance of these objects: the volume is a happy blending of art and anthropology.
- JEFFERYS, C. W. *The picture gallery of Canadian history*. Vol. I: *Discovery to 1763*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1942. Pp. xiv, 268. (\$2.00) See p. 57.
- JENNESS, DIAMOND. *Canada's Indian problems* (America indigena, II (1), enero, 1942, 28-38). An outline of the diverse geographical and cultural areas of the Indians of Canada, with observations on modern problems.
- JURY, WILFRID. *Clearville prehistoric village site in Orford Township, Kent County, Ontario*. (Bulletin of the Museums, University of Western Ontario, no. 2.) London: The University. 1941. Pp. 44 (mimeo.). The Clearville site is particularly important since it has three superimposed occupation levels, separated by layers of sand, presumably wind-blown. The inhabitants were Iroquoian, probably Neutral; differences in the cultures of the three levels, though significant, are less pronounced than might have been expected. This report gives a clear description of initial excavations; the work has been carried out in a thoroughly scientific manner and it is to be hoped that it can be continued after the war.
- KIDD, KENNETH E. *The excavations of Fort Ste. Marie* (Martyrs' Shrine message, VI (3), Oct., 1942, 10-12, 23). A preliminary description of archaeological investigations at Fort Ste. Marie, centre of the Jesuit Missions in Huronia in the seventeenth century.
- *An historic site is excavated* (The school, XXX (8), April, 1942, 712-15). An account of the excavation of Fort Ste. Marie, headquarters of the Jesuit missions in Huronia in the seventeenth century.
- *Indian arts and crafts* (Boletín indigenista, II (2), junio, 1942, 10-12). A summary of Indian arts and crafts and their study in Canada.
- KINIETZ, VERNON, and JONES, VOLNEY, H. *Notes on the manufacture of rush mats among the Chippewa* (Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters for 1941, XXVII, 1942, 525-38). A detailed study of mat making among the Ojibwa of Walpole Island, Ont., and at Lac Vieux Desert, Michigan.
- LA FARGE, OLIVER (ed.). *The changing Indian*. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press. 1942. Pp. 184. To be reviewed later.
- LEECHMAN, DOUGLAS. *Abalone shells from Monterey* (American anthropologist, XLIV (1), Jan.-March, 1942, 159-62). The species of abalone exported in prehistoric times from the California coast to that of British Columbia is shown to be *haliotis rufescens*.



- LEECHMAN, DOUGLAS. *The arts and the aborigines* (Queen's quarterly, XLIX (4), winter, 1942-3, 353-60). A brief, but well arranged, summary of native craftsmanship in painting, sculpture, pottery, basketry, weaving, and embroidery in the various areas of Canada.
- LEWIS, OSCAR. *The effects of white contact upon Blackfoot culture*. (Monographs of the American Ethnological Society, VI.) New York: J. J. Augustin. 1942. Pp. vi, 73. This is an important book to the historian as well as to the anthropologist. Relying largely on documentary evidence, the author traces the changes in Blackfoot (southern Alberta and Montana) culture that followed contact with the white man. Comparisons of their social structure, marriage practices, economics, and war concepts at datable periods show that the coming of Europeans, and especially the fur trade, at first developed, rather than retarded, these aspects of native life. This is a stimulating use of historical methods in a study of cultural change. An appendix summarizes the relations of the Blackfoot with the Canadian and American governments.
- LIPS, JULIUS E. *Tents in the wilderness*. Philadelphia and New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co. [Toronto: Longmans Green]. 1942. Pp. 297. (\$2.75) A semi-popular description of Montagnais-Naskapi life, centring around the experiences of an individual. It falls between a novel and a scientific study. To be reviewed later.
- LOEB, EDWIN M. *The social organizations of Oceania and the American northwest* (Proceedings of the Sixth Pacific Science Congress, IV, 1940, 135-9). Both in detail and in general principles, striking resemblances are shown to exist between the social organization of the North-west Coast and of Melanesia.
- LOOSLEY, ELIZABETH W. *Early Canadian costume* (C.H.R., XXIII (4), Dec., 1942, 349-62). Included in this valuable summary of early styles of dress is a useful account of the different types of Indian clothing.
- MCCASKILL, JOSEPH C. and McNICKLE, D'ARCY. *La política de los Estados Unidos sobre los gobiernos tribales y las empresas comunales de los Indios*. Washington: Department of the Interior for the National Indian Institute. 1942. Pp. xiv, 26 (plano.). A comprehensive and well-illustrated summary of the history of the policy of the American government towards lands owned or claimed by Indians.
- MCGIBONY, J. R. *Trachoma among Indians of the United States of America* (America indigena, II (3), julio, 1942, 20-3). Trachoma, a disease probably brought to America from Spain in the sixteenth century, has long been one of the most serious scourges among the Indians of North America; treatment with sulfanilamide is showing gratifying results.
- MACINNES, T. R. L. *Canada: Arts and crafts projects* (Boletín indigenista, II (1), marzo, 1942, 19-20). A brief note on the different types of Indian handicrafts made in various parts of Canada.
- MANNING, T. H. *Remarks on the physiography, Eskimo, and mammals of Southampton Island* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIV (1), Jan., 1942, 16-33). A preliminary account of the results of an expedition to Southampton Island; scientific observations are given on modern Eskimo life as well as on archaeology.
- MARSH, D. B. *All caribou* (Beaver, outfit 273, Dec., 1942, 18-22). The Caribou Eskimo, who live on the Barren Lands west of Hudson Bay, use caribou for food, clothing, and tools. A well illustrated article.
- *Mudding a sled* (Beaver, outfit 272, March, 1942, 44-5). An illustrated description of the shoeing of the runners of Eskimo sleds with mud and ice.
- MAY, ALAN G. *Attu* (Natural history, L (3), Oct., 1942, 132-7). A well-illustrated, popular description of the people and the culture of this Aleutian Island now occupied by the Japanese.

- MAY, B. M. *Caribou hunt* (Beaver, outfit 272, March, 1942, 31-3). The story of a caribou hunt, December, 1939, to January, 1940, with the Povungnetuk Eskimo.
- NEUMANN, GEORG. *The origin of the prairie physical type of American Indian* (Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters for 1941, XXVII, 1942, 539-42). Considerable physical diversity is shown to be characteristic of the Plains Indians.
- NIELSEN, AXEL, and LEARMONTH, L. A. *Dried fish* (Beaver, outfit 272, March, 1942, 22-5). A well illustrated description of the catching, cleaning, and drying of white-fish by the Eskimo.
- ORCHARD, W. J. *The stone age on the prairies*. Regina and Toronto: School Aids and Text Book Publishing Co., Ltd. 1942. Pp. 160. An illustrated volume describing types of stone implements found in Saskatchewan. It indicates the keen interest of an amateur collector, and is to be commended from this point of view, but the treatment is not in accordance with modern scientific archaeology.
- Our minority groups*. I. *The American Indians* (Building America, VII (4), Jan., 1942, 97-128). This is an extremely interesting article, well illustrated, well-written, with judiciously selected material. The anonymous author has used the latest data and has given in non-technical language an admirable description of Indian history, leading to the present position in which the Indians, a minority group, live as wards of the government. Though designed for American readers, this article deserves wide circulation in Canada. The bibliography is adapted for the general reader.
- PATEE, LYNUS R. *Birch bark canoe* (Beaver, outfit 273, June, 1942, 24-7). An illustrated, detailed description of the manufacture of a birch-bark canoe.
- A preliminary bibliography of the archaeology of the New England Indians*. (Massachusetts Archaeological Society, Bulletin 3 (1).) Cambridge: The Massachusetts Archaeological Society. 1941. Pp. 10. A useful bibliography of an area of great significance to Canadian prehistorians.
- RAINEY, FROELICH G. *Culture changes on the Arctic coast* (Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences, series 2, III, April, 1941, 172-6).
- Native economy and survival in Arctic Alaska* (Applied anthropology, I (1), Oct.-Dec., 1941, 9-14). Domestic reindeer were imported from Asia about fifty years ago in an effort to improve the economic condition of the Alaskan Eskimo. The reasons why this experiment has been only partially successful are analysed; success would seem to require adoption of a semi-nomadic life comparable to that of Asiatic reindeer herders.
- RAVENHILL, ALICE. *Pacific coast art* (Beaver, outfit 273, Sept., 1942, 4-8). Illustrations of typical art forms of the North-west Coast.
- REID, ROBIE L. *The Chinook jargon and British Columbia* (British Columbia historical quarterly, VI (1), Jan., 1942, 1-11). After discussing theories of its origin, a description is given of the development, spread, and decline of Chinook, the *lingua franca* which served on the North-west Coast as a trade language.
- RICHARDSON, JANE, and HANKS, L. M., JR. *Water discipline and water imagery among the Blackfoot* (American anthropologist, XLIV (2), April-June, 1942, 331-3). Contrary to the views of McAllester (cited C.H.R., XXIII, March, 1942, 116), the authors believe that the use of cold water as a means of discipline was rare among the Blackfoot, and that it is not correlated with psychological fears of water monsters.
- ROBINSON, LEIGH BURPEE. *To British Columbia's totem land* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIV (2), Feb., 1942, 80-93). A description, with interesting contemporary photographs, of a tour of the British Columbia coast in 1873 by the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Dr. I. W. Powell.

- ROBINSON, PERCY J. *The origin of the name Hochelaga* (C.H.R., XXIII (3), Sept., 1942, 295-6). Hochelaga appears to be a corruption of a Huron-Iroquois term meaning, "Mountain People."
- *Pothier-places aux français* (B.R.H., XLVIII (12), déc., 1942, 365-8).
- SCHAEFFER, C. E. *The grasshopper or children's war—a circumboreal legend?* (Pennsylvania archaeologist, XII (3), July and Oct., 1942, 60-1). A legend in which the cause of a war is "explained" as due to a trivial quarrel between children is found to occur among the Satudene of Great Bear Lake, as well as among the eastern Algonkians where its occurrence has already been noted.
- SETZLER, FRANK M. *Archaeological accomplishments during the past decade in the United States* (Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences, XXXII (9), Sept., 1942, 253-9). The provision of government funds to reduce unemployment in the United States in the nineteen-thirties made possible far-reaching archaeological investigations, some of the results of which are summarized. The conclusions throw significant light on North American prehistory.
- SHAPIRO, H. L. *World migrations* (Natural history, L (2), Sept., 1942, 93-8). With the aid of informative diagrams, a physical anthropologist points out the extent and significance of population shifts in the last four hundred years.
- SHEPARD, WARD. *La conservacion de las tierras indigenas en los Estados Unidos*. Washington: Department of the Interior for the National Indian Institute. 1942. Pp. 70 (plano.). A well-illustrated, detailed study of the causes and extent of erosion and wastage upon arable land owned by Indians in the United States, together with an account of the conservation measures adopted by the government.
- Society for the furtherance of Indian arts and crafts* (British Columbia historical quarterly, VI (1), Jan., 1942, 61-2). A description of accomplishments and aims of the Society for the Furtherance of Indian Arts and Crafts, a British Columbia organization formed for the laudable purpose of encouraging the native crafts of the province, and particularly of utilizing them in educational work among Indian school children.
- SPECK, FRANK G. *The grasshopper war in Pennsylvania, an Indian myth that became history* (Pennsylvania archaeologist, XII (2), April, 1942, 31-4). Variants of the same Indian myth are recorded from Pennsylvania, Maine, and Newfoundland; it must obviously be an old legend widely diffused among the Algonkians.
- *The historical approach to art in archaeology in the northern woodlands* (American antiquity, VIII (2), Oct., 1942, 173-5). The use of special dyes to produce a black background is a widespread characteristic of the tanning processes employed by the north-eastern Algonkians; in later times they favoured cloth of black colour in trade goods obtained from the white man. This colour preference seems to have spread westward and influenced the Indians of Minnesota.
- and EISELEY, LOREN C. *Montagnais-Naskapi bands and family hunting districts of the central and southeastern Labrador peninsula* (Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, LXXXV (2), Jan. 24, 1942, 215-42). An important study of Montagnais-Naskapi hunting areas; their size and the conditions of tenure vary according to ecological factors.
- STEFANSSON, VILHJALMUR. *Greenland*. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co. [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart]. 1942. Pp. x, 338. (\$4.50) Included in this history of Greenland are comprehensive accounts of Eskimo settlements and explorations, both prehistoric and historic. Reviewed C.H.R., XXIII, Dec., 1942, 404.
- STEWART, JULIAN H. *Determinism in primitive society?* (Scientific monthly, LIII (6), Dec., 1941, 491-501). A study of the Carrier Indians of the interior of British Columbia shows the predominant influence of contact with other tribes in the development of culture and its modifications in post-European times.

- STEWART, JULIAN H. *Investigations among the Carrier Indians of British Columbia* (Scientific monthly, LII (3), March, 1941, 280-3). A brief account of culture changes among the Carrier Indians of Stuart Lake, in the interior of British Columbia.
- Studies recommended by the governing board* [of the Instituto Indigenista Interamericano] (Boletín indigenista, II (2), junio, 1942, 3-9). This important series of recommendations regarding urgent work among the Indians of the Americas shows the need of scientific approach in problems of health, craftsmanship, and government; these are particularly vital at the present time.
- SULLIVAN, ROBERT J. *Temporal concepts of the Ten'a* (Primitive man, XV (3 and 4), July and Oct., 1942, 57-65). A thorough study of the attitudes towards time, and the means of noting it, held by the Athapascan tribes of the Yukon River.
- THALBITZER, W. *The Ammassalik Eskimo*. Part II. (Meddelelser om Grønland, XL, 1941, 569-739). A well illustrated and comprehensive description of the social life of the Ammassalik Eskimo of East Greenland, with an extensive bibliography.
- TURNER-HIGH, HARRY HOLBERT. *Two Kutenai stories* (Journal of American folk-lore, LIV (213-14), July-Dec., 1941, 191-6). Two current myths from southern British Columbia, of particular interest on account of their present-day implications.
- TWOMEY, ARTHUR C. in collaboration with NIGEL HERRICK. *Needle to the north: The story of an expedition to Ungava and the Belcher Islands*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1942. Pp. viii, 360. (\$4.50) Contains useful observations about the Indians on the east side of Hudson Bay, and the Eskimo of the Belcher Islands. Reviewed C.H.R., XXIII, Dec., 1942, 403.
- VOEGELIN, C. F. *Bibliography of American Indian linguistics, 1938-41* (Language, XVIII (2), April-June, 1942, 133-9). A well arranged and comprehensive bibliography.
- VOEGELIN, ERMINIE W. *Notes on Ojibwa-Ottawa pictography* (Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Science, LI, 1941, Indianapolis, 1942, 44-7). Notes on picture writing as still practised by the Ojibwa-Ottawa of the northern tip of Michigan.
- Wampum*. This is the title of a mimeographed, twelve-page quarterly edited by the Rev. E. E. M. Joblin at Muncey, Ontario. It contains letters and brief articles about Indians and Indian affairs, principally, though not entirely, pertaining to western Ontario. Its contents are, properly, concerned with the Indian today, his views and his problems in a changing world. The editor and his associates deserve great credit for this publication; the Canadian Indians have their own needs, difficulties, strengths, and interests, which can be expressed in a paper of this kind.
- WASHBURN, HELUIZ CHANDLER, and ANAUTA. *Land of the good shadows: The life story of Anauta, an Eskimowoman*. New York: The John Day Co. 1940. Pp. xx, 329. The autobiography of a half-breed Eskimo woman from northern Labrador. Reviewed C.H.R., XXIII, Dec., 1942, 403.
- WEIDENREICH, FRANZ. *The upper Paleolithic man of the upper cave of Choukoutien and his bearing on the problem of the provenance of the American Indians* (Proceedings of the Sixth Pacific Science Congress, IV, 1940, 165-8). Upper Palaeolithic skulls from Choukoutien show diversity of physical type, a characteristic also found among the American Indians. This American lack of uniformity may, perhaps, be traced back to a similar condition in the Asiatic homeland.
- WILCOX, RAY. *Feathers in a dark sky*. Woodstock, N.Y.: Woodstock Press. 1941. Pp. 223. (\$2.50) Reviewed C.H.R., XXIII (1), March, 1942, 90.
- WINTENBERG, W. J. *The geographical distribution of aboriginal pottery in Canada* (American antiquity, VIII (2), Oct., 1942, 129-41). An important, posthumous paper, summarizing the results of many years of work. The author not only gives

the geographical distribution of pottery in Canada, but distinguishes the principal cultures represented, and outlines the areas occupied by each.

WINTON, HARRY N. M. *A Pacific northwest bibliography, 1941* (Pacific northwest quarterly, XXXIII (2), April, 1942, 187-203). Included in this extensive bibliography is a well-arranged section on archaeology and anthropology.

WISSLER, CLARK. *The American Indian and the American philosophical society* (Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, LXXXVI (1), Sept. 25, 1942, 189-204). This is an important study of the history of American anthropology, in which the American Philosophical Society has played a prominent part.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

### JABEZ H. ELLIOTT

Dr. J. H. Elliott, professor of the history of medicine in the University of Toronto, died on December 18, 1942, in Toronto, at the age of sixty-nine. After being educated at the Bowmanville, Ontario, High School, the University of Toronto, Liverpool University, and Johns Hopkins, Dr. Elliott entered on a distinguished professional career which was marked by a great variety of activities, among them being his interest in Canadian history. He had a wide knowledge of the history of medicine in Canada, of the history of certain localities in Eastern Ontario, and of certain phases of military history. He was a member and past president of the Canadian Military Institute and had taken a special interest in building up its library and records. The CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW was indebted to him on a number of occasions for generous assistance in connection with reviews and other matters.

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The death of A. G. Bradley at the age of ninety-two is announced in a recent issue of the London *Times* Literary Supplement, to which Mr. Louis Blake Duff has kindly drawn our attention. After graduating at Trinity College, Cambridge, Mr. Bradley lived and travelled for ten years in the United States and Canada, returning to England in 1883. Fruits of his interest in Canada were the biography of Lord Dorchester, and several other studies in Canadian history, which have been largely superseded but which were of value at the time. His later writings, appearing at intervals over a period of many years, were chiefly concerned with his journeys and observations in England and Wales.

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### CHAMPLAIN'S ASTROLABE

The astrolabe, which was lost by Champlain on June 7, 1613, and was found in August, 1867, is now in the possession of the New York Historical Society. The society's *Quarterly Bulletin* for October last contains a short article describing eight astrolabes which it has received by bequest. The Champlain astrolabe, which is one of the eight, is described as of plate brass, five inches in diameter, very dark with age, and with a suspending ring attached by a double hinge.

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### DOCTORAL THESES

We are pleased to add the following items to the annual list of theses in course of preparation for the doctoral degree which was published in our issue of last September:

- J. M. S. CARELESS, B.A. Toronto 1940; M.A. Harvard 1941. George Brown and the Toronto *Globe*: Victorian Liberalism on the North American scene. *Harvard*.
- VERNON CLIFFORD FOWKE, B.A. Saskatchewan; M.A. 1929. Governmental aid to Canadian agriculture: An historical introduction. *Washington*.
- WILLIAM A. HANCE, A.B. Columbia 1938; M.S. 1941. Population problems of Quebec Province. *Columbia*.
- CHILTON WILLIAMSON, B.A. Columbia 1938; M.A. 1939. The Champlain Valley, satellite of the St. Lawrence, 1760-1830. *Columbia*.

## THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR STATE AND LOCAL HISTORY

The American Association for State and Local History held its second annual meeting in Richmond, Virginia, on October 27 and 28 last, the papers and discussions centring to a great extent around the problems of preserving historical materials and carrying on the work of local societies under war-time conditions. In some of the states these problems are being tackled with considerable success. Inquiries with regard to the work of the Association may be directed to the secretary, Box 6101, Washington, D.C.

## INSTITUTE OF WORLD AFFAIRS

For nineteen years the Students International Union has held a summer institute of young people who are interested in international affairs. Beginning in Geneva, Switzerland, this programme was continued in Europe until 1939 when it was transferred to the United States. It was organized for the purpose of promoting mutual understanding among the youth of different nationalities and for bringing together students of many countries for a deeper understanding of world problems. This summer the Institute of World Affairs, to be held at Salisbury, Connecticut, in the lower Berkshires, June 26 to July 30, will have as its theme "Post War Organization." Sir Norman Angell, assisted by visiting specialists in the fields of politics, economics, and sociology, will guide this five weeks' course of lectures. Cost of tuition and living expenses will be \$100. A number of scholarships, each of \$75, will be available. Applications should be addressed to Howard Huston, Students International Union, Inc., 522 Fifth Avenue, New York.

The issue of *Culture* of December last contains an excellent article on "The Social Sciences in Canada" by Professor A. R. M. Lower of United College, Winnipeg, who is this year president of the Canadian Historical Association. *Culture*, which is completing its third year, has established a distinctive place for itself among Canadian journals, and is rendering a real service by its continuous survey of cultural conditions—using the term in its broadest sense—throughout Canada.

The following information with regard to the staff at Laval University may be added to the items on appointments which were printed in our December issue: The Abbé Pascal Potvin has been appointed assistant in the Archives, Quebec Seminary, and Laval University. The Abbé Honorius Prevost remains also an assistant. For the history of Canada in the Faculty of Arts, the Professor is the Abbé Maheux, appointed in 1937. The Abbé Honorius Prevost, Lecturer, was appointed in 1942. The Abbé Pascal Potvin was appointed in 1942 in the School of Social Science.

## BOOK-NOTES FOR TEACHERS

*Canada: The War and After*, by W. E. C. Harrison *et al.* (sponsored by the Young Men's Committee, National Council, Y.M.C.A., Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1942, viii, 78 pp., 60c.); *Reconstruction in Canada*, edited by C. A. Ashley (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1943, xvi, 148 pp., \$1.00); *War and Reconstruction: Some Canadian Issues*, edited by A. R. M. Lower and J. F. Parkinson (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1942, xiv, 106 pp., 75c.). These most useful and thought-provoking summaries of the problems created and foreshadowed by the war are worthy of



careful attention by everyone interested in Canada's past and future. The last is concerned with both the war and post-war periods. Its fifteen papers, including two from French Canadians, range over economic, social, and political problems. In the first, the opening chapter on "The Issues at Stake" is especially good. Short bibliographies are appended to the chapters. The second book consists of ten lectures by competent authorities on general and specific problems, among them being International Economic Collaboration, Democratic Institutions, The Social Services, The Ideals of Reconstruction. A short bibliography is provided at the end of the book.

*The United States as a Factor in World History* by Theodore Clarke Smith (Berkshire Studies in European History, New York, Henry Holt, 1941, viii, 142 pp., \$1.00) is a useful addition to the Berkshire series which is designed to provide for the general reader brief discussions of important topics by competent authorities. The topic suggested by the title in this case is very large and it is not surprising that the intangible influences which are connoted by the term Americanism and which have so powerfully affected the modern world are not very fully treated though they are suggested. The chief theme in the book is the outline of the foreign policy of the United States and as a thumb-nail sketch of this theme the book can be recommended. The relations with Britain are dealt with fairly. A useful short bibliography is given. It is unfortunate that the book appeared too soon to include the entrance of the United States into the war.

*Early Indian History of the London District* by Wilfrid Jury (N.d., mimeo.) is a series of five radio talks given over CFPL, *The Free Press*, London, Ontario, taking as the subjects the Attawandarons or Neutrals, flint relics, heavy stone tools, personal ornaments, and copper relics of the Indians of the London district.

*A Select Bibliography of the History of the United States* compiled by Allan Nevins (Historical Association pamphlet no. 121, London, Wyman and Sons Ltd., 1942, pp. 48). This bibliography, prepared by a well-known historian of the United States, is very useful as an introductory reference list.

*Meet Mr. Coyote* is an attractively illustrated booklet of 27 pages containing legends of the Thompson Indians, price 25c. It is the work of Thompson Indian boys at the St. George Indian School, Lytton, B.C., and is published for the Society for the Furtherance of Indian Arts and Crafts, Victoria, B.C. by the J. Parker Buckle Company. Address, Mr. Noel Stewart, St. George's Indian School, Lytton, B.C.

*The Dragon Ship: A Story of the Vikings in America* by William S. Resnick (New York, Coward-McCann [Toronto, Longmans Green], 1942, x, 214 pp., \$3.00). The story of this beautifully produced book is woven around Karlsefni, the Viking leader who attempted to found a settlement in America. The author has taken some care in checking materials which provide the background of his story. The finely drawn illustrations are especially attractive. The book would be a welcome addition to any school library.

*Pamphlets on current events.* Many pamphlets continue to be published. Since our last issue, the Canadian Association for Adult Education and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs have brought out two new pamphlets in their "Behind the Headlines" series. The titles are: *Canada and the Short-Wave War* by Albert A. Shea and Eric Estorick; and *Family Allowances for Canada* by D. H.

Stepler (10c. each). Among the titles in a series of pamphlets which is being issued under the general title, "Les Cahiers de l'École des Sciences Sociales, Politiques, et Économiques de Laval," are the following: *Témoignage sur la crise actuelle* by J. T. Delos; *Vers l'accomplissement de notre destin américain* by Leopold Richer; *L'Assurance sociale et l'assurance commerciale* by T. Poznanski; *Catholique es-tu social?* by G.-H. Lévesque; *La Crise de l'intelligence française* by Auguste Viatte; *Un Style canadien de musique* by Eugène Lapierre; *Quelle est la nature de l'acte de 1867?* by Edouard Laurent; *La Montée du Canada vers l'indépendance* by Lionel Roy; *L'Étude et l'enseignement de l'anglais* by Maurice Lebel; "Life" and *French Canada* by P. H. Conway. To anyone wishing to gain an understanding of the French-Canadian point of view not only with regard to contemporary problems but with regard to Canadian history, these pamphlets will be of great value. The Wartime Information Board has produced three issues of its "Canada at War" series, numbers 19-21, for the months of December, January, and February, giving up to date facts and figures on the Canadian war effort, both military and industrial. In number 16 of the "Contemporary Affairs" series, *Canada's Role in Geopolitics: A Study in Situation and Status* by Griffith Taylor (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1942, 28 pp., 30c.), Canada's geographical relation to world affairs is discussed by the author, the head of the Department of Geography of the University of Toronto. No. 122 of the Historical Association's pamphlets is a short sketch of the relations of Britain and the United States since 1783, *Anglo-American Relations* by J. E. Tyler, lecturer in history in the University of Sheffield.

*Western Ontario History Nuggets* and *Western Ontario Historical Notes* are two series of mimeographed bulletins recently begun by the Lawson Memorial Library of the University of Western Ontario. The first will provide a medium for the publication of short articles, the number at hand containing an article by Mr. R. Thomas Orr on the organization of the Stratford Agricultural Society in 1841 with a survey of agricultural conditions in the district at that time. The introduction in *Historical Notes* explains that it is designed to link up the historical activities of people in Western Ontario and to promote local historical research and writing. The first number contains several short articles, genealogical notes, information with regard to local societies, and queries. These bulletins cannot but arouse wide-spread interest in the constituency which they are designed to serve.

#### CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

*The Art, Historical, and Scientific Association of Vancouver* has completed its forty-ninth year, its president being Professor C. Hill-Tout, who has been connected with the association from the beginning and has served as president for eight years. The association is building up its collections, the past year being recorded as one of exceptional activity. The material is varied, including artifacts recovered from the Great Fraser Midden, historical materials, and many items for the art and other sections. The association is making plans and representations looking to the erection of an adequate museum building after the war.

*The Brant Historical Society* held its annual meeting in January at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Kerr, Brantford, and was addressed by Dr. J. J. Talman of the University of Western Ontario on the importance of local or regional history in gaining proper understanding of national history. During 1942, eight meetings were held, six of them at the Brant Historical Society Museum in the Brantford

Public Library Building. The speakers and subjects included: January, the Rev. E. A. Richardson, on the origin and development of the British Methodist Episcopal Church; February, the Rev. F. W. Schaffter, on India; March, Miss Belle McIntosh, a missionary returning to China when the Japs attacked Pearl Harbor, gave personal observations of conditions in Honolulu just after the raid; April, Miss Jean Waldie, on pioneer days and ways in Brant and Norfolk Counties; May, Mrs. U. Cronhielm, a former medical missionary in China, told of habits and customs of the Chinese; June, a picnic meeting at the home of Mr. and Mrs. George W. Broomfield, featuring a report by Miss Jean Waldie on the annual meeting of the Ontario Historical Society; September, at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Harold Hill, Major E. P. Randle, superintendent of the Six Nations' Reserve, spoke on the history and origin of the Departments of Indian Affairs in Canada and the United States; November, Mrs. Ethel Brant Monture, descendant of Captain Joseph Brant, on the history, religion, culture and democracy of the Indian. Officers: honorary presidents, Judge A. D. Hardy, Mrs. R. D. Cockshutt; vice-presidents, Dr. Lorne McIlwraith, Mrs. G. L. Smith, Mr. Harold Hill; secretary-treasurers, Miss E. J. Howell, Mrs. A. E. Burke; press officer, Miss Jean Waldie; curators, Mr. George W. Broomfield, Mr. John Hill.

*British Columbia Historical Association, Vancouver Section.* The annual meeting, held on November 19, 1942, was addressed by Mr. E. S. Robertson, librarian of the Vancouver Public Library, on Alaska and the Alaskan Highway. The secretary reported a successful year with a membership maintained at over 150. Officers: honorary president, Dr. Robie L. Reid; president, Mr. A. G. Harvey; secretary, Miss Jean Coots; treasurer, Mr. G. B. White.

*British Columbia Historical Association, Victoria Section,* reports an active interest and a paid-up membership of over 150 in spite of many competing demands resulting from the war. The October meeting was addressed by Dr. Kaye Lamb on the subject of Dr. John McLoughlin. Dr. Lamb wrote the introduction for the recently published volume, *McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver Letters, 1825-38*, published jointly by the Champlain Society and the Hudson's Bay Record Society, and in doing so made a notable contribution to the knowledge of McLoughlin's work and personality. Dr. Lamb's address left a vivid impression of McLoughlin's importance and influence. The November meeting was addressed by the Rev. J. C. Goodfellow, president of the British Columbia Historical Association, on "The Story of Similkameen." Mr. Goodfellow, who has gathered his material from oldtimers and many other sources, carried the story from the Indian and fur-trading periods to recent years. He spoke of Alexander Ross of the Pacific Fur Company, which had its headquarters at Astoria, who explored the country in 1813, and of Archibald McDonald's map of the same part, made in 1826. The discovery of gold was made at Granite Creek by John M. Chance, and a story was related of a spectacular gold discovery and almost completed sale at \$80,000 of a claim, which was not consummated owing to sudden news of the war of 1914. Mr. Goodfellow spoke of F. J. Allison, the first white man to settle in the district. The name Princeton, first called Vermillion Forks, and sometimes written Prince Town, was given in honour of the visit to Canada of the Prince of Wales in 1860. In 1888 a hunter, Jameson, and his son, stumbled on what later became the rich Sunset copper mine. Copper Mountain was opened up and now provides one of the most vital industries of the region. About the same time coal was discovered near Princeton. The last phase of Similkameen development began with the Great Northern Railway, which was put through the valley in 1909—and in 1915 was

completed to the Coast. The Hope Road, a 66-mile trail rising 6,000 feet, was started in 1860. Its completion is still being awaited.

*The Historical Society of Argenteuil County* reports a successful continuation of its activities. The collections in its museum, which is finely housed in the Old Carillon Barracks, have been growing steadily and have been seen by a large number of visitors when they are on display, May 1 to November 1. Officers: president, Dr. H. B. Cushing, secretary, Miss Beatrice Robertson, St. Andrews East, P.Q.

*The Miramichi Historical Society*, organized principally for research work, has a managing committee of two, Mrs. A. B. Williston and Miss Louise Manny, both of Newcastle, New Brunswick. The following is an account of its recent activities:

"During the past year, we have continued gathering material from old newspapers, the Crown Land Office in Fredericton, and have collected epitaphs from graveyards, and taken photographs of old houses and sites connected with local history. The Minutes of the Sessions of Northumberland County, from 1789 to 1810, have been printed in the local newspaper, the *Union Advocate*, and we are now printing the Northumberland County Memorials, copied in Fredericton by Miss Manny. In the *Chatham Commercial* we are printing the Marriage and Death notices from 1833 to 1873, copied from the *Miramichi Gleaner*. During November, a 'History of the Highland Society of New Brunswick at Miramichi,' comprising about 175 pages of typescript, was compiled by Miss Manny for the local society, which was celebrating its hundredth anniversary.

"The *Miramichi Gleaner*, referred to above, is a mine of interesting information about the early days. Our earliest volume is for the year 1833, and we had the mortification of finding out last week that the owner of the 1832 volume had, in a burst of misguided patriotism, 'sent it to the salvage.' We had written salvage committees, urging them to be on the lookout for old papers and pamphlets, and had advertised in the local newspapers for 'old newspapers,' but to no avail. Could not the Canadian Historical Association through the Canadian Press, urge the owners of historical relics and old papers and documents to consult museums or local persons interested in history, before disposing of such material?"

The Association has attempted at various times to urge on the authorities the need of steps to ensure the preservation of historical materials. This suggestion is being sent on to the secretary of the Association, however, with a view to encouraging the continuation of these efforts.

*The Queen's County Historical Society* was founded in 1929. The Simeon Perkins house in Liverpool, Nova Scotia, which it owns and occupies, dates back to 1767 and has been in the possession of only three owners, including the society. The Simeon Perkins diary is also in the society's possession. Of special interest to the society are the memorial to commemorate the discovery of Liverpool Bay by DeMonts in 1603, and a monument erected and presented to the society by Colonel C. H. L. Jones, to mark the site of the Sylvanus Caleb house, one of the oldest wooden structures east of Quebec. Officers: president, Colonel C. H. L. Jones; vice-presidents, Miss Janet E. Mullins, Mrs. John Day, Mr. T. H. Raddall; secretary-treasurer, Miss Anne Hendry.

*La Société Historique de Montréal*. The following papers were read before the society during 1942: "Les carriers Côteau St-Louis" by Robert Prévost; "Le Chemin de la montagne" by Aristide Beaugrand-Champagne; "Normandie, Poitou, et Canada français" by René Caillaud; "L'Album de Jacques Viger" by Gérard Morisset; "Nos Origines charentaises" by Georges Panneton; "Les Fêtes du IIIe

centenaire—le rêve et la réalité" by Victor Morin; "La dernière Phase de la Nouvelle-France: ni conquis, ni cédés" by Régis Roy; "Evangéline et Ville-Marie" by Pierre J.-O. Boucher; "Un Immeuble de XVIIe siècle, à Montréal, en 1942," by Albertine Ferland-Angers. Officers: president, Mgr Olivier Maurault; vice-president, M. Aristide Beaugrand-Champagne; treasurer, M. Montarville B. de la Bruère; librarian, M. Léo-Paul Desrosiers; secretary, Jean-Jacques Lefebvre, the Archives, Superior Court, Montreal.

*La Société Historique de Saint-Boniface* had the following lectures in its last winter series: Noel Bernier on "Le vieux Saint-Boniface" or the history of St. Boniface some fifty years ago; Guillaume Charette spoke on the Métis and particularly an encounter with the Indians (Sioux) in 1856 at La Rivière aux Outardes; Dr. Trudel traced the history of theatrical activities in the French-speaking groups since 1870; Father d'Eschambault lectured on "Georges d'Eschambault, facteur-en-chef de la Compagnie" (Hudson's Bay Company Chief-Factor). The secretarial office has been kept busy answering numerous requests for information on historical matters. The historical museum has been enriched by many accessions: a chalice offered to Archbishop Taché by Pope Pius IX; a portrait of Louis Riel; a document signed by Macdonald of Garth; a picture of Fort Garry in 1871 by Linn, well-known artist of the time. The library has also been enriched by the acquisition of new and old volumes. Membership has increased to 75, and the winter lectures have been attended by an average of 300. Officers: president, the Rev. A. d'Eschambault; vice-president, M. Noel Bernier; secretary, the Rev. D. Lamy.

*The Upper Canada Railway Society* included in its bulletin of November last a descriptive article on the Hamilton and Toronto Railway written in 1855.

*The Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto* reports that its monthly meetings and other activities are being continued with interest. "We are certainly not 'defunct' but are going strong in all branches of the work," writes the secretary. Among the society's special interests are the supervision of Colborne Lodge in High Park, and the Museum at Old Fort York. Corresponding secretary, Miss Kate Symons, 68 Avenue Road.

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#### ARCHIVES, LIBRARIES, AND MUSEUMS

*The British Columbia Archives.* The *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* for October gives a summary of the acquisitions of the Archives for 1941-2. The list contains a great many interesting and valuable items, printed, manuscript, and pictorial, as well as museum pieces.

*The Perth Museum,* Perth, Ontario, has acquired an interesting letter concerning the military expedition to Fort Garry in 1870. It was printed in the *Perth Courier* on October 15, 1942, by Archibald M. Campbell, Honorary Curator of the Museum. The letter was written by Captain Thomas Scott, 1st Ontario Regiment, to Major John W. Douglas, Perth. Captain Scott later became Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the 95th Battalion in the 1885 Rebellion, was Mayor of Winnipeg, 1877-8, and a member of the Manitoba Assembly, 1878-80. Written from Prince Arthur's Landing, Thunder Bay Camp, on June 27, 1870, it describes the site of Prince Arthur's Landing and the small village possessing two small stores, a tavern called "Hotel De Flaherty," two or three residences, and a large number of government buildings, sheds, etc. He tells of the building of Fort Arthur and decries the mismanagement in "this whole affair." Dawson's road is totally unfit for travel and the two American propellers, chartered by Colonel

Bolton at \$400 a day, have been lying more than half the time doing nothing. At Fort William there is a strong stone blockhouse, dwelling-house, a store and store-house, about a dozen buildings painted white, surrounded by a stockade. He describes plans for leaving Prince Arthur's Landing for the rendezvous at Fort Francis, and tells of troubles between "our men" and the 2nd Battalion from Quebec.

*The University of London: Institute of Historical Research.* Mr. H. P. H. Biggar, son of the late Dr. H. P. Biggar of the Canadian Archives, has recently presented to the University of London for the endowment of the Canadian History section of the library of the Institute of Historical Research the funds collected by his father for a Canadian History lectureship in the University. Dr. Biggar's efforts to raise funds for the latter purpose were abandoned during the period of intense financial disturbance after 1931, but with the approval of the trustees of the fund, he was accustomed to spend the interest on the money collected to buy books on Canadian History for the Institute. The present arrangement therefore perpetuates Dr. Biggar's practice in the matter and promises to develop in the course of time a well-equipped collection of reference works on Canadian history, likely to be equally useful to Canadian scholars visiting London and to English students of Canadian History there. The nucleus of the Canadian History section at the Institute is a library collected by Dr. Biggar and presented to the Institute by Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Rio de Janeiro and others in 1925-6. The original gift included many hundreds of pamphlets, some of considerable rarity; these are now housed in the same building but in the care of the University of London library.

*The University of Western Ontario, Lawson Memorial Library.* Manuscript material which has been brought together during the past decade in the library is being incorporated into an historical collection which will reflect the various phases of settlement, the development of industries and transportation, and the crystallizing of social, religious, and cultural forces throughout the thirteen counties of Western Ontario. The material is being catalogued for immediate use, and additions are being made continuously. A particularly rich field for research lies in the Huron District and Middlesex County records. Extensive work on the latter has been done by the London and Middlesex Historical Society in providing a file of names mentioned in the Chancery Courts papers. Settlement papers include those of Thomas Talbot and John Galt. Individual diaries and memoirs are being collected in original and typewritten form. The histories of churches, lodges, and schools are being sought. A file of pictures of old buildings, bridges, roadways, etc. is being built up. The collection will be particularly rich in the papers and accounts of business firms. A file that should prove interesting in this field is one of business letter-heads of the past century, many of which carry illustrations of processes long out of use. The papers of greatest political value are those of the Honourable David Mills, consisting of some twenty-eight boxes and sixty-eight volumes of letters, notes, speeches, pamphlets, etc.

